

THE
Measures of Resistance
TO
The Higher POWERS,
So far as becomes a Christian :
IN A
SERMON,

Preach'd on *January* the 30th, 17⁹⁹,

BEING

The Solemn Day of Fasting and Humiliation
for the Execrable Murder of *CHARLES*
the Martyr, of blessed Memory,

At the Parish-Church of St. *ETHELBURGA*.

By *LUKE MILBOURNE*, a Presbyter of
the Church of *England*.

The Fourth Edition.

L O N D O N :

Printed for *George Sawbridge*, at the *Three Flower-*
de-luces in *Little-Britain*, 1710.

THE Power of the Magistrate does most certainly issue from the Divine Authority : The Obedience due to that Power, is by Divine Command : And Subjects are bound, both as Men and Christians, to obey the Magistrate actively in all Things where their Duty to God interceeds not ; and however passively, i. e. either by leaving their own Country, or if they cannot do that, then by suffering patiently at Home, without giving the Publick the least Disturbance. Rehearsal Transposed, Part 2. P. 177.

England's Black Tribunal, set forth in the Tryal of King Charles I. by the pretended High Court of Justice at Westminster-hall, Jan 20. 1648. together with his Majesty's Speech on the Scaffold, erected at White-hall-gate, Tuesday Jan. 30. 1648. Also a perfect Relation of the Sufferings and Death of divers of the Nobility and Gentry, who were inhumanly murder'd for their constant Loyalty to their Sovereign Lord the King. Together with their several Dying-Speeches from the Year 1642. to 1658. viz. Earl of Stafford, Arch-bishop of Canterbury, Duke Hamilton, Earl of Holland, Arthur, Lord Capel, James, Earl of Derby, Marquess of Montross, Col. William Sybolds, Col. Eusebius Andrewes, Col. John Penruddock, Col. Gerard, Sir Henry Hide, Sir Henry Slingsby, Col. John Morris, Cor. Blackburne, Cor. Hugh Grove, Dr. John Hewet. The 4th Edition. To which is added, An historcial Preface, by a true Church-man. Price bound, 2 s.

THE impudent Babler baffl'd ; or, the Falsity of that Assertion utter'd by Bradshaw in Cromwell's new-erected Slaughter-house, namely, that Charles the Ist was no Hereditary, but an elective King, depending solely on the Votes and, Suffrages of the People, detected and confuted by Lawyers, Divines, Historians, Records of Parliament, and authentick Pedigrees. Price 1 s. Both printed for George Sawbridge, at the Three Flower-de-luces in Little-Britain.



R O M. xiii. 2. Com. ult.

And they that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation.

I Remember the Socinians somewhere tell us, that when the literal Meaning and current Interpretation of any Text of Scripture is not to be reconcil'd to their Reason, they must find out some other Sense, how far soever fetch'd, for that Text, which may better agree with their Reason, and maintain that. And they have given us several Instances of their great Pains to that Purpose. I believe it's no easy Matter to prove, that a Socinian, as such, is a Christian. And I am afraid the Distinction which a late Mob-Scribler has offer'd between an English-Man and a Christian, begins to take Place; and that some, who call themselves English-Men, nay, and Protestants too, are really no Christians at the same Time.

It has long been thought by very good Men, that this Chapter teaches us, That all lawful Magistrates are the Ordinance of God, and that they have their Commission from him; and it looks very like Truth, and such Truth as even the heathen World, by their weaker Light, had discover'd, tho' an Apostle, inspir'd by the Holy Ghost, had not asserted it. But when St. Paul tells us in as express Words as possible, that the Powers that be, are ordain'd of God; and that they who resist them, resist the Ordinance of God, and as a Reward for their Resistance, shall receive to themselves Damnation; one would have thought that Doctrine should have been render'd authentick, at least, among Christians. Yet we have English-Men, nay, English Divines, but sure very moderate Christians: Who try their utmost to wrest the plainest Scriptures to their own preconceiv'd, irreligious Opinions; and what we little thought of some Years ago. The holy Word of God, and the Doctrine of the Church of England founded upon that Word, must either speak the Sense of Mariana, Suarez, Bellarmine, Sanctarellus, Hottoman, Buchanan, Bradshaw, Milton, Baxter, Owen, Goodwin, Sidney, Lock, and the rest of their eminently loyal and religious Fraternity, or the Scriptures shall be no Scriptures; the Doctrine of the Church of England, as by Law establish'd, shall be no Doctrine for them. And as our Socinians boast of their Alliance to those ancient Hereticks, Ebion, Cerinthus, Artemon, Paulus Samosatenus, Arius, Photinus, and others of that Crew, rather than of their Relation to the Apostles, to Clemens, Ignatius, Irenaeus, Justin Martyr, and the other glorious Luminaries of the ancient Church; so these English-men value themselves more upon the Principles and Patterns of Jeroboam, Zimri, Judas of Galilee, &c.

ancient Gnosticks, and modern Jesuits, and the Westminster Junctio of Forty-eight, than upon the Doctrines of our Saviour, of St. Paul, St. Peter, St. Jude, the whole antient Christian-Church, the Martyrs and Confessors of our English Reformation, and the common Sense of all Mankind.

Hence we are told by a late very modest Writer, *Modest Reply*, p. 5. that 'When a Sortment of Priests, as he with a peculiar Elegance, expresses it, endeavour to bully us into Slavery, by repeating a Text of Scripture, viz, *The Powers that be, are ordain'd of God and they that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation.* The People are grown so wise as not to be Priest-frighten'd into Slavery; but will consider whether the Text will not admit of a fair Interpretation, consistent with the legal Rights of English-men; and if they can find out an Interpretation of this Nature, (it's no Matter how absurd or foreign from the Text) they will, as Protestants, prefer it before the crafty Insinuations or bullying Rants of the Priesthood. And he tells the Person he pretends to write to afterwards, 'The Authority of the Church of England is not at present what it has been, nay, nor of the Scriptures themselves: Which we find by sad Experience to be true. The Papists have often reproach'd our Religion with being only a *Parliamentary Religion*, and which Parliaments may alter as they please: This Sortment of *Protestant-English-men* confirm the Truth of that Reproach. Our Homilies contain a *wholesome Christian Doctrine* as receiv'd by our Church reform'd from Popery: All the Clergy of the Church of England subscribe, i. e. they swear to that Doctrine *ex Animo*; and that Doctrine contain'd in those Homilies, can never be reconcil'd to Popery. But, says this *Modest Protestant*, 'this can't hinder the Legislative p. 8. Power for enacting any Thing for the public Good, (as if sound Doctrine were inconsistent with the publick Good) tho' it should be contrary to some Doctrine contain'd in the Homilies. The Homilies were enacted by Law, and therefore may, upon just Occasion, in any Case, be repeal'd by Law. And as for the Scripture, he fairly assures us, p. 14. 'That to draw a Scheme of political Government from a Text of Scripture, (it may be he knows but of one that relates to Government in the whole Book of God) is too pedantical. And that, 'The Design of p. 15. any Priesthood to do so, may possibly take another Turn than they are aware of, and give Occasion to the Laity to look with a jealous Eye, not only on the Priesthood, but on the Scripture it self. This is not *bullying*, but a *modest Way* which this Pamphleteer has of expressing himself; and is enough to excite us to vindicate our Church, our Laws,

Laws, our Homilies, and our Scriptures, from all such as dare to pervert, to villify, or to profane them, or endeavour from them to make good those *accurs'd Principles* upon which *Charles the First, of ever blessed Memory*, was this Day cruelly murder'd, or to cashier them all together.

This Chapter, among others, was call'd a *malignant Chapter*, by some who were disturb'd at the Doctrine of it in the *great Rebellion*. It seem'd to them to be of a stubborn and inflexible Nature, and never to be reconcil'd to the violent Resistance, Deposition, or Murder of our lawful Princes; and our *Papists in Masquerade* at this Day, would as willingly be rid of *this*, and other such like Texts, as of those *Princes* whom they call *Tyrants*; and of the *fifth Commandment* as of the *second*: For while such Texts stand in our Bibles, while we have the Liberty of reading them, and believe that they were written by Inspiration from God, we shall have some among us who will believe that their lawful Princes are God's Vicegerents and Representatives; that the People are not their Judges, but their Subjects; that they are bound to obey them in all Things which are lawful and honest, not only for Wrath, but for Conscience, and for God's Sake; and that such Obedience is due, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward; that any other *Resistance* of Subjects to their lawful Sovereigns than by refusing to execute their sinful Laws or Commands, and by quietly submitting to the Penalties annex'd to such a Refusal, is a *damnable Sin*, and that on such Principles, and no others yet discover'd, they may, under their lawful Princes, by God's Blessing, *lead quiet and peaceable Lives in all Godliness and Honesty*.

But since a *Divine* of our Church has endeavour'd to *supple* the Apostle's Discourse in this Chapter, and in spite of common Sense and Honesty, to make it so tractable, that when ever a factious Crew find themselves aggriev'd with their Governors, they, as Superiors to their Sovereigns, may call them to a strict Account, and coerce or dethrone them, as they in their great Wisdom shall think fit, he so makes this Chapter a *Terror* indeed to *Princes*, but a *Doctrine of wonderful Ease and Liberty* to the *Discontented, the Seditious, and the Rebel*. And he has dress'd up such a Paraphrase to ridicule such as are against any violent Resistance of their lawful Princes, as he never yet met with in any Author, either ancient or modern: And then, in a Paraphrase of his own Composure, has endeavour'd to gild over a poysonous Pill, that the Patient might swallow it with the less Suspicion. That I may the better evidence the Heinousness of that Sin which Authority commands us to fast and mourn for at this Time, I shall make a fair Review of his *Paraphrase*, and endeavour by another, to set the Apostle's Meaning here in a true Light. His

His Paraphrase then of the first Verse of this Chapter is this, 'Whereas there hath been a Notion among the *Jews*, and still remains even among them who are converted to the Christian Religion, That no Subjection is due to heathen Magistrates in the Execution of their Office: To put a Stop to this pernicious Opinion, and to remove the Scandal it may fix upon the Christian Religion, I give it in Charge to you, and to all Christians, that you shew a ready Subjection to all who are possess'd of any governing Power in human Societies; for it is by the Providence of God, that they are possess'd of this Power: And not only this, but I do not doubt to affirm, That all Magistrates, whether Heathens or not, consider'd as Magistrates, may justly be said to be ordain'd by God himself.

Which Paraphrase might serve well enough for one who fancies *St. Paul*, sitting and nodding over his Desk, as a learned Man represents the *Sophist*, whom he supposes the Author of the *Epistles ascrib'd to Phalaris*, and considering how he might word his Discourses with as much Obscurity as *Persius* did his *Satyr*s in the same Reign: But it's so unbecoming the infinite Wisdom and Majesty of that Sacred Spirit, who dictated this Discourse to the Apostle, that indeed it's little less than *Blasphemy* to introduce the Holy Ghost, talking at that loose and undermin'd Rate. As for this Way of interpreting the Apostle, *Parvus* was before him in it: But when he presents us with a groundless Tale of some converted *Jews* falling in with the Doctrine of *Judas of Galilee*, of which Scripture gives us not the least Intimation, he fathers an Impertinence upon the Holy Ghost: For what had the *Roman Christians* to do with the *Jewish Rebels*, or their ungodly Principles? The old Covenanters indeed, excus'd themselves from receiving and assisting their Sovereign *Charles the Martyr*, because they had sworn in the Covenant to defend him only in the Defence of the Protestant Religion, which, as they said, he did not while he refus'd to take the Covenant. But to make the Spirit of God, when he's laying down Rules by which all Christians, in all Ages, and under all Governments, should manage themselves with Respect to Governors lawfully set over them, to make him talk either irresolutely or ambiguously, is intollerable. This Author makes God just as much concern'd in constituting Governors, as he is in the Fall of a Hair, or a Sparrow to the Ground, and no more; and he implies, that the Apostle made somewhat of a bold Stretch, when he call'd the higher Powers the Ordinance of God; when the Holy Ghost, by *St. Paul's* Pen, really and positively commands Obedience both to the supream Governors, and their Substitutes; and declares, that the higher Powers lawfully set over Men, are of God, and rule only by him. And

And the true Sense of the Holy Ghost in this first Verse, may be laid down in these Words,--- 'Since the Enemies of Christ's holy Religion are always endeavouring to exasperate the Governors of this World against all who profess it, and particularly by accusing them as Enemies to their Government, because they are the declar'd Servants of Christ a King, I an Apostle of Jesus Christ, and yet not I, but the Spirit of God in me, command all *Christians*, and *you Romans* in particular, who live under one of the greatest Monarchs in the World, to be every one of you subject to him. Give none any Ground to suggest, that you think your selves exempted from Subjection to him by your Profession of Christianity; but let them see, that a *Christian*, as a *Christian*, is the best Subject in the World. Worldly Sovereigns are the Anointed of God; they have all their Authority from him, as their Substitutes have from them. They are God's Vicegerents, his Shepherds; and tho' above all others, they are accountable to him, God has, by his more peculiar Providence, set up all lawful Governors. By him only Kings reign, and Princes decree Justice: It's your Duty therefore to submit to them, for his Sake whose Ordinances they are, and for your own Sakes.

Our Author paraphrases the second Verse thus,

— All Magistrates being ordain'd by God himself. V. 2.

It follows from hence, that whosoever hinders or

opposes them in the Execution of their Office, opposes the Ordinance of God; and opposing the Ordinance of God, must expect Judgment from God himself for such a Crime.

Now, here seems to be an Intimation towards distinguishing between a Prince's personal and his political Capacity. A Prince, or an inferior Magistrate, when he is diverting himself, when he's engag'd in any private Business which has no Relation to the publick Government, is, according to this Doctrine, no more than another Man, and may be lawfully resisted or oppos'd, suppose in hunting, because he's not in the Execution of his Office. But why should God concern himself to damn those who resist the Higher Powers, if the Original of their Power and Authority be from the People only, and that by mutual Compact? For then the Sovereign Power is radically and essentially in the People, as the *Fundæ* voted in 48. And this Charge of the Apostle ought not to have been given to Christian Subjects, but to all Princes whether Christians or Heathens; so that if they should dare to oppose their Sovereign Lords the People, while they asserted their Original Power and reserv'd Liberties, such Princes ought to expect God's Judgment for so doing. And when our Bibles and Homilies are once repeal'd by Statute, this may be very sound and edifying Doctrine.

But

But the true Meaning of the Holy Ghost in this Verse, is
 ' — All lawful Powers, as was declar'd before, were ordain'd by God for his own Glory, and for the Security of
 ' the Peace of the lower World in general. God puts into
 ' their Hands Power sufficient to carry on that great Work,
 ' and his Wisdom direct their Management to that End. God
 ' has given to the Higher Powers, the Supream Governors of
 ' this World, generally larger Souls, and a clearer Sense of
 ' what tends to the Benefit of their People, than he does to
 ' the People over whom he has set them. There are few of
 ' these Princes, one, it may be, or two in an Age, who do
 ' not acknowledge their Authority to be from God, and that
 ' they are accountable to God for the Exercise of it: He
 ' therefore, who resists them by Force when they command
 ' what is sinful; or who refuses Obedience to them in any
 ' thing which is not sinful; that Man resists them whom
 ' God has commanded him to obey, and submit himself to;
 ' and by so doing, not only incurs the Penalties of Human
 ' Laws, but incurs the eternal Vengeance of him who made
 ' them Governors, and Him, who so resist, a Subject.

Our Author proceeds to Paraphrase the third Verse
 V. 3. thus. ' — What I have said to you, is true, viz.

' That Magistrates are the Ordinances of God; and
 ' that to resist and oppose them in the Execution of their
 ' Office, is a great Sin, is evident from the good End and useful Nature of their Office: For you very much mistake the
 ' Business even of a Heathen Magistrate, if you look upon
 ' them as Enemies by their Office to what is truly good and
 ' praise-worthy: On the contrary, I assure you, it is their
 ' great Business, as they are Magistrates, to punish and discourage only what is evil, and of pernicious Consequence
 ' to the Happiness of Human Societies. — In which Paraphrase he makes the Holy Spirit tread so softly, and with so much Diffidence in himself, as our Author scorn'd either in his *Censure of a Bishop*, or the *Majority of the lower House of Convocation*.

The Apostles Words are — *For Rulers are not a Terror to Good Works, but to the Evil: Wilt thou then not be afraid of the Power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have Praise of the same.* — Now, these Words, as I observ'd before, respect all lawful Magistrates in general, whether they were Christians or Heathens; whether of That or of Future Ages. But they refer more immediately to the *Roman Empire*, where they had yet no Magistrates but who are Heathens. Lawful Magistrates were appointed by God for the general Good of all Mankind, not of any one political Society in particular, as opposite to, or as of distinct Interests from all the rest; and this
 general

general Good all Magistrates, under the more immediate Conduct of Divine Providence, carry on effectually, whether they are personally inclin'd to Vertue or Vice. The *Supream Power of every particular Society*, whether he be *Despotic and Arbitrary*, or One who *enacts standing Laws by the Advice and Consent of his Subjects*, and engages himself to govern by those Laws; in either Case this Sovereign is oblig'd to study the Benefit and Satisfaction of his Subjects, according to the best Judgment he can make of their Inclinations and Necessities; and all this, as he'll answer it to him who is *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, and the only Ruler of Princes*. The *Roman Emperor* at this time was an *Arbitrary Monarch*, as well as a Heathen: His Word was a Law: Several Laws had been made formerly by the Senate, *some design'd Laws* were laid before them still, but they Liv'd and Dy'd by the Breath of the Emperor. Both the *Senatorian* and the *Imperial Laws* strictly forbad the receiving of any new Gods or new Religions, without the Approbation of Authority, because both the *Senate* of old, and the *Emperors* now, according to the best of their Heathenish Understandings, judg'd, that all Innovations in Religion tended to the Disturbance of the State. On this Reason, as the Emperor for the time being had the *Supream Power* in his own Hand, so he was oblig'd, in *prosecuting the End of his Office*, or the supposed Good of his Subjects, to *root out all the Professors of Christianity*: If he endeavour'd not to do so, he was false to his Office, he broke the Laws of the Empire, and in the Judgment of the Multitude, must have been a Betrayer of the Rights and Majesty of the *Roman Empire*.

Now were the Christians *Doers of Evil, or Doers of Good*? Was their Profession such as engag'd them to *do that which was Good, or Not*? If they were not *Doers of Good*, then certainly these Princes promoted the Publick Good the most effectually, who took most Care to clear the *Roman Empire* of them: If the Christians were *Doers of Good*, were the Emperors *Terrors to good Works, or to the Evil*, when they persecuted the Christians, since they did it as *Magistrates, in Execution of their Office*, and according to the known Laws of the Empire? Yet *these very Christians* were the Persons whom the Apostle commanded to be *subject to the Higher Powers*, and assures them, that if they resisted these Powers, they resisted the Ordinance of God, and should receive to themselves Damnation? These he enjoins to be *Doers of Good*; and if they were so, even from these persecuting Powers, they should have Praise of the same.

All this is intelligible enough to those who are acquainted with Scripture, and have impartially enquir'd into the Behaviour of the Primitive Christians. St. Paul lays it down for

a general Rule that, — *That all those who follow Christ, must suffer Persecution.* — Our Saviour had taught the same before. Here the Spirit, who knew the resiffl Temper of corrupt human Nature, directed St. Paul to instruct Titus, and in him all of us, who are lawfully call'd, to instruct the Church, Tit. 3. 1. — *That he should put those under his Care in Mind to be subject to Principalities and Powers, to obey Magistrates without limiting them to Good or Bad, and to be ready to every good Work.* — That Obedience is very well explain'd by St. Peter, 1 Pet. 2. 12. *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the King as supream, or unto Governors as those who are sent by him for the Punishment of evil Doers, and for the Praise of them who do well ; for so is the Will of God, that with well doing we may put to Silence the Ignorance of foolish Men, i. e. of those who suggested to the Heathen Magistrate, that Christians were Enemies to their present Governors, and liv'd in perpetual Opposition to their Laws, and therefore were not to be suffer'd. Now, all the Roman Magistrates, both the King, which must mean some particular Person, and his substituted Governors, were sent for the Punishment of evil Doers, and for the Praise of them who did well, and as they were so sent, all the Christian Jews, as well as the Christian Gentiles, were to submit to them.*

That there were great Numbers, who dy'd *Martyrs for the Name of Jesus Christ*, even in those early Days, is notorious : That to suffer Death, and that in a cruel and tormenting Way, is no desirable Thing, is generally suppos'd ; yet St. Peter asks the Question, 1 Pet. 3. 13. *Who is he that will harm you, if ye be Doers of that which is good ?* As if Martyrdom had no Harm in it. The Man, whose Conscience accuses him of Evil, receives Harm indeed, when he suffers by Law ; for if he have neglected it before, Death puts him past all Hopes of Repentance. But, says St. Peter, *If ye suffer for Righteousness sake, happy are ye ; and be not afraid of their Terror, neither be troubl'd, but sanctify the Lord God in your Heart, and be ready to give an Answer to every one who asks you a Reason of the Hope which is in you with Meekness and Fear ; having a good Conscience, that whereas they speak against you as evil Doers, they may be asham'd who falsely accuse your good Conversation in Christ.* In all which that Apostle only reinforces his Master's Doctrine from the Mount ; *Blessed are they who are persecuted for Righteousness sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of God ; Blessed are ye when Men shall revile you, and persecute you, and speak all Manner of Evil against you falsely for my Sake ; Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your Reward in Heaven, for so persecuted they the Prophets which were before you,* Matth. 5. 10, 11, 12. But those who really suffer'd Harm, had no reason to rejoice so much. Those who

who suffer'd no Harm, had no Reason to offer any violent Resistance to the Supream Powers.

This Doctrine of our Saviour and St. Peter, is that which holy Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, refer'd to in his Answer to the Proconsul. That Aged Bishop was then preparing for the Stake, for the Name of his dear and blessed Master Jesus Christ; and we are taught, says he, to give to Rulers and Powers that Honour which are fit, since to submit to them, can do us no Harm. I know the Words may be render'd, so far as we may do it without Sin: And so may refer to that Passive Resistance which the Martyr himself then used, who would not obey the Proconsul's Order, to defy his Saviour, because he could not do so without Sin, which was the greatest Harm he could possible receive; but he was ready to submit to those Flames prepar'd for him without Reluctance: But I chuse the former Sense, because I find others of the Ancients speaking to the like Purpose, on the like Occasion. So *Justin Martyr*; * ' We

think, says he, that we can receive Harm from none, unless we are convicted of some Wickedness, or are proved guilty of some Transgression; you, indeed, may kill us, but you cannot hurt us. And afterward, We not having fix'd our Hopes on any Thing in this World, never concern our selves about those who

thrust us out of it. Nor was their any Reason why they should, when by such a Removal they receiv'd no real Damage. To the same Purpose speaks *Athenagoras* in his Plea for the Christians. † ' We

are not mov'd, says he, at their Covetousness, who hope to divide our Fortunes among themselves; nor do we regard that Reproach and Scandal which is cast upon us, nor any greater Injury than these which may be done to us:

Many may think these Things of very great Moment and Importance, but we despise them. And they might very well despise those Severities, by which they receiv'd no Harm. But when both *Justin* and *Athenagoras* appeal so confidently to their own well-know Innocence, and beg so earnestly that

* Ημῖς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἑδενθ' πέσειν τι κακὸν δύνασθαι λελογισμέθα ἢ μὴ κακίας ἐργάτας ἐλεσθόμεθα, ἢ πονηρῶς διηγνάσμεθα, ὑμεῖς δ' ἀποκτείναι μὴ δύνασθε βλάψαι δέ. Et postea. Ἐπεὶ ἐκ εἰς τὸ νῦν τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχομεν ἀναισθητοῦς ἢ πεφροσιν κακῶν. *Justin Martyr*, Apol. vulgo secunda, fol. 59.

† Οὐχ' εἰς χρήματα ἢ παρὰ τοῦ διωκόντος ζημεῖα, ἔδε εἰς ὀπτίμιαν ἢ αἰχρύν, ἢ εἰς ἄλλ τι τοῦ μείζονος ἢ βλάψης τῶν γὰρ καὶ ἀποθνήσκοντες πάν τοις ποταῖς δοκεῖ ἀπουδένειν γε ὄντα. *Athenagoras* legatione pro Christianis.

their Heathen Governors would make a strict Inquisition into their common Lives and Conversations, they must have been well stock'd with modern Modesty and Humility, when they pleaded in such a Manner, if they had ever taught that it was lawful any other Way than by suffering, to resist their lawful Princes : And they'd scarcely have perswaded any, that they were guilty of no other Crime, but that they were Christians, if they had ever been found preaching, or writing, what might tend to Sedition or Rebellion.

On the same Principle with *Justin and Athenagoras, Tertulian*, toward the Conclusion of his *Apologetic*, tells the Heathens, * 'Notwithstanding

* *Nec quicquam tamen producit exquisitor quaq; Credulitas vestra, Illecebra est magis Secta: Plures efficimur quoties metimur a vobis; semen est Sanguis Christianorum. Tertullian Apologet. ad Gentes, C. 50.*

'all the Pains you take to
'exripare Christianity, the
'most exquisite Pieces of
'Cruelty you can use, has no
'such Effect as you aim at :
'Nay, your Cruelty is rather
'a Lure to draw in more to
'our Party : The more frequently we are mown down by you, the thicker we come up again, and the Blood of the Christians is a very fruitful Seed. As for what has been alledg'd from *Origen* against *Celsus*, to favour, rather than to condemn the Doctrine of Resistance, it's so far from inferring, that our Apostle's Words in this Chapter, ought to be understood with a Limitation, that it proves the contrary. *Origen* refers *Celsus* to the Apostle's Words, without putting any other Construction upon them, than what the bare Letter of them imported, and refers him to his larger Commentaries upon those Words, as resolving, not the Doubts of Christians, who were not at all divided in that Point, but the Objections of Heathens, and such as thought the Brass of the Statues of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, and other Tyrant Killers, the noblest Metal in the World ; and who frequently depos'd and murder'd excellent Men, under Pretence of their being Tyrants and Oppressors. *Origen's* larger Commentaries on the Apostle's Words, are lost ; but what he says upon our Saviour's Rule given to the Pharisees and Herodians, Render unto Cæsar, the Things that are Cæsar's, *Matth. 22.* favours nothing of resisting lawful Magistrates, tho' such as attempted the Destruction of Christianity might truly be said to endeavour the Destruction of all Mankind. All these are such express and early Testimonies, that they make it highly probable, that the Christians of the first Ages did interpret the Precepts of *St. Paul* concerning Subjection to the higher Powers, so as not to allow of any but passive Resistance to them in any Cases whatsoever.

Our

Our Paraphrase then of those Words, is this : ' Rulers set over Men by God, however ill inclin'd they may be, do not strike any more Terror upon such as do well, than the Sound of the last dreadful Trumpet will. The Consciences of such are easy, and they can bear the severest Events with Patience and Submission, while the greatest Favourites of the worst of Tyrants are always afraid of being sacrific'd either to their Fury or their Safety. Would'st thou then, O Christian ! live without Fear or Terror under all thy lawful Governors, be they good or bad ? Keep the Commands of God with an upright Heart ; and tho' thou may'st be persecuted for thy Name, thou shal't be reverenc'd and admir'd for thy Vertue ; and they who shed thy Blood without Reason, shall leave all the World to celebrate thy Innocence. For the very Hea- As *Aristides*. thens know, that a good Man may be persecuted, only because *he's more excellent than his Neighbours*.

Of the next Verse, the same worthy Writer makes this Sense : ' But if ye desire to have no Dread upon your V. 4. Mind from those Magistrates, about whom some of you at present seem to be in great Concern, I will shew you a Method which, generally speaking, will be most effectual to that Purpose : Do that which is good ; exercise yourselves constantly in all that is Praise-worthy, and the Nature of their Office is such, that this is a likely Way not only to avoid their Anger, but to obtain their Encouragement : For, while you behave your selves well, they are by their Office to protect and encourage you, and vested with Power to this very Purpose. On the contrary, if you be guilty of Practices truly evil, and such as deserve the Censure of the Magistrate, you have indeed Reason to dread his Power ; for it is not for Nothing that he is entrusted with the Power of Punishment : He is appointed under God, and is by his Office oblig'd to discourage and punish all whose Practices deserve his Anger. But did ever Prophet or Apostle speak thus in the Name of God, and in the Power of the Holy Ghost before ?

Alas ! this is all dilute and impertinent, and far short of the Meaning of that sacred Spirit. Our Apostle, under his Influence, directs *Christians* here how to behave themselves under their lawful Governors : He does not speak to some of them, but to all : He does not insinuate that some Christians only had tender Consciences, and were afraid of resisting the Magistrates, while the perfect Christian might be ready to resist without either Fear or Wit : He does not here give them a Recipe to settle such Qualms of Conscience as, generally speaking, might operate very well ; but he gives, as I said before, a positive, direct,

direct, infallible Rule for all Christians in all Ages, and under all Circumstances, to manage themselves by. He teaches them how to behave themselves particularly toward their present Rulers, who were all Infidels and Enemies to Christianity, by Vertue of that idolatrous Religion which they profess'd. Now to be a steady, faithful, zealous Christian, was either to be a Doer of that which was good, or it was not. If it was not, the Christians were justly persecuted by their Governors. If such Christians were Doers of that which was good, then those were guilty of extreme Tyranny who endeavour'd to destroy them.

Again, if heathen Magistrates were God's Ministers, (and if they were not, God had then no Ministers in the World) they were appointed either by himself, or by Men: If they were appointed by Men, then Men might put upon God what Ministers they pleas'd, (and to be sure wicked Men would appoint him wicked Ministers) and such must have been own'd by God, though they had neither Deputation nor Authority from him. Which fairly implies, That Men may put that upon God, which they will not allow that God should put upon them; for, as some wise Men have observ'd, God is not the King over any People, till that People have chosen and admitted him to the Government. If Magistrates, tho' Heathens, were God's Ministers, and of his own Appointing, then whoever resisted, resisted God himself; and all they who do so, shall receive to themselves Damnation.

Farther yet: The Powers then being when the Apostle wrote thus, had their Authority either from that God, or from those Men who appointed them to their Offices. If they had it from God, we may be sure that Authority was given them for the Good of all Mankind in general, for the Good of the Roman Empire in particular, and especially for the Good of those who were of the Household of Faith: And, however the present Powers might use their Authority, he who gave it them, would, tho' by Ways obscure to Men, direct all their Actions to the End intended. If they had their Authority from Men, then they must have had it from the Romans who chose them, and in whom the sovereign Authority originally resided, and who were all Heathens; and as such, must have commission'd them to persecute Christianity; and all for the Good of the particular Roman Empire, in Contradiction to those of the Household of Faith, and all the rest of Mankind: But those then who gave them this Authority, could not prevent the natural Consequences of any Irregularities of their Governors, nor stop their Career, but by Rebellion and Murder; both odious to the sincere Christian.

Now, here it's to be observ'd, that they were not only the *Neroes* and *Domitians*, but they were the *Trajans*, the *Adrians*, the *Antonines*, the *Decius's*, the *Aurelians*, the *Dioclesians*, the *Julians*, Princes of admirable Vertue, and as much *Heroes* as *Pagan Principles* could make them; Men who stud'd to advance the Glory of the *Roman Arms*, and the Prosperity and outward Happinefs of their Subjects, as far as Policy and Valour, and the Renown of their own glorious Actions could carry them; they were such as these, who carry'd on the most violent Persecutions against the Church of Christ. By their Offices they were the *Ministers of God*: Did they discharge their Offices well, when they persecuted their Christian Subjects? The Christians in being steady, faithful, and zealous in their Profession, *did that which was good*: Did those who persecuted them as Christians, do their Duties as the Ministers of God, when they persecuted them only for Doing that which was good? If the *Roman Emperors* were only the *Creatures of the People*, and the *inferior Magistrates* only the *Creatures of those Creatures*, then those Governors, from the highest to the lowest, were all bound by their Offices to secure the Peace of the *Civil State*, and the *Religious Rites* of the Empire, according to the Sense of the People who created them. If then these Officers did not to the utmost of their Power root out all the Professors of Christianity, they could not be faithful to that *Coercive Power* with which they were entrusted by the People, because the People were generally jealous of, and Enemies to the Christian Religion, and their Emperors, in case of favouring or encouraging Christians by themselves, or by their Officers, were accountable, according to *our modern Schemes of Government*, to their *Masters the People* for their Mal-Administration. Thus it was either the Duty of the *Roman*, and all other Heathen Magistrates, to persecute the Christians with all possible Violence, and they might have rais'd as mighty Trophies to their own Glory for their Atchievements in the Cause, as ever the Duke of *Alva* did formerly in the *Netherlands*, or the *Grand Louis* has done in *France* of late Years for their imaginary Extirpation of the *Northern Heresy*; or else all this Discourse of the inspir'd Apostle was only a *sly Intimation* to the *Roman Christians*, that if their Emperors or their Deputy-Governors persecuted them for the sake of their Religion, they, as being made free from all the *Doctrines of Slavery* by Jesus Christ, might, without Sin, depose and ruin them as Tyrants, and publick Enemies of all that was good, so soon as they were strong enough, and had a proper Opportunity.

That Paraphrase which this Writer makes for the true *English Christian*, is an Original and entirely his own; the true

Senſe

Now,

Sense of the Apostle's Words in this Verse, is this; ' The
 ' lawful Magistrate, tho' he, as being a Stranger and an
 ' Enemy to the God of the Christians, may persecute thee
 ' under that Name, yet God's all-wise Providence will so
 ' conduct all his Actions, that they shall all work for the best
 ' for thee: While thou performest the Duty of a Christian,
 ' tho' he kill thee, yet he shall not be able to take away thy
 ' Crown from thee: While thou submittest patiently to his
 ' Laws, tho' he take away thy Life, he shall always justify
 ' thy Loyalty: His Laws will protect thee as well as others
 ' in civil Cases; and thou too wilt in some Measure be a
 ' Partaker of the publick Happiness; and thy constant and
 ' humble Subjection to thy Rulers, will either mitigate their
 ' Displeasure against that Name by which thou art call'd, or
 ' leave the Magistrate without Excuse in the Court of Hea-
 ' ven. But if thou art once found among Men of disloyal
 ' Principles or Rebels, if thou darest to *resist thy lawful Go-*
 ' *vernour by Force and Arms*, then be afraid; the Glory of thy
 ' Innocence is lost; the Laws of the Government under
 ' which thou livest, make thee a Malefactor, and God has put
 ' the Sword of Justice into the Hands of his Ministers, not
 ' to let their Subjects beard them, affront them, or break their
 ' Laws without Punishment, but that they may execute
 ' Judgment upon the Enemies, either of their Persons or their
 ' Government; for as the Magistrate is God's Minister, so
 ' he's a Revenger of any Dishonour put upon himself or God,
 ' and therefore oblig'd by his Office to execute Wrath upon
 ' all such as shall by Force or Violence resist or set themselves
 ' against them.

Our Author goes on to paraphrase the three next Verses,
 which I shall lay altogether, thus, ' Since therefore
 V. 5. ' the Office of Magistrates is the Ordinance of God,
 ' as it carries forward his Designs in the World, and
 ' since their Work is so good and beneficial to human Soci-
 ' ety, as they are the Punishers of all that is evil, and the
 ' Encouragers of all that is good: It is manifest from hence,
 ' that it is not only a Point of Interest to shew a ready Sub-
 ' mission to them, for fear of their Anger or their Punishment,
 ' if you did not; but a Point of Duty and Conscience for
 ' fear of God's Displeasure, whose Will they execute, and
 ' whose Work they carry forward in the World.—
 V. 6. ' And because there hath been a Notion among the
 ' *Jews*, and still retain'd among those who profess
 ' Christianity, that it is not *necessary or fitting to pay Tribute*
 ' *to Heathen Governors*, I add, that for this same Cause which
 ' I have now laid down for your Subjection to them, you are
 ' oblig'd in Conscience to pay Tribute to them also, because
 ' they

' they are, as I have shewn you already, God's Ministers,
 ' oblig'd by their Office continually to pursue the good Ends
 ' before mention'd, and enjoying Power for that Part, V. 7.
 ' Be ready therefore, to render to all your Superiors what they
 ' may justly, and on account of their Office, require of you.
 ' Be willing to pay Tribute and Custom to those of your Go-
 ' vernors to whom they are due; and toward all those who
 ' are cloath'd with Power, for the Good of human Society,
 ' behave your selves with all Fear, and Honour, and Respect.

But all this Gloss too, tho' so much labour'd, is quite be-
 side the *Design of the Holy Ghost* in these Verses, and tends on-
 ly to Confusion where it's admitted. Here then, had *St. Paul*
 any respect to the present *Roman Emperors* or his *Substitutes*, or
 had he not? If not, to what purpose did he write thus to
 the *Romans*, the particular Inhabitants of that imperial City?
 If he had respect to them, did the present *Roman Emperor*
 carry on God's Design in the Government of the World, or
 did he not? If he did, then a wicked, bloody, persecuting
 Prince may carry on God's Design as effectually as one of a
 sober, just, and merciful Temper; and therefore he cannot be
 resisted by his Subjects, but they must in so doing, resist the Or-
 dinance of God. If the present *Roman Emperor* did not car-
 ry on God's Design in the Government of the World, then
 all these holy Rules, so far as they refer to that Duty which
Roman Christians ow'd to their Emperor, are all idle Banter
 and Impertinence. But several of the *Roman Emperors*, such
 as *Augustus*, *Vespasian*, *Titus*, *Nerva*, *Trajan*, *Adrian*, and others,
 render'd the *Roman Name* glorious and terrible to all the neigh-
 bouring Nations: *Rome* flourish'd, the Empire flourish'd, and
 never more than under *Trajan's* Government, so that the o-
 ther Emperors now nam'd, but none more than *Trajan*, are
 celebrated for the Felicity of their Times by the best Histori-
 ans. The Government of *Trajan* was good then, and very bene-
 ficial to human Society: He was a Punisher of what was evil,
 an Encourager of what was good, and is by many made the
Pattern of a perfect Prince. Yet this very *Trajan* was an Enemy
 to Christ, and a Persecutor of Christians. Might now a
 christian Subject have call'd *Trajan* to an account for being
 a Persecutor? Might he, if he could have rais'd Forces e-
 nough, have depos'd *Trajan*, and murder'd him? When Men
 endeavour to excel in nothing but Piety and Vertue, certainly
 he who persecutes them, must be a *Tyrant*; if *Trajan* were a
Tyrant, had not the Christians a just Right to defend them-
 selves against his Tyranny? The *Roman Emperors* were all
 despotick and arbitrary, and therefore, as some say, *Tyrants*;
 but there was more of Tyranny in destroying them for pro-
 fessing to believe in Jesus Christ, than in seizing their Goods
 at pleasure, or in stripping them of their Estates: Might

Then the Christians have reveng'd themselves on *Trajan* for his Tyranny, if they had been able, without Sin? They were very simple then, and miserably tinctur'd with *slavish Principle*, since they did not: They wanted some of our *modern Casuists* to satisfy them, that *Self-Defence* was certainly lawful, and that where a Tyrant set himself utterly to destroy the best of his Subjects, for such the *primitive Christians* undoubtedly were; and to kill them, was to destroy them effectually, they ought to have resisted his Cruelty, and to have let him know, that since he was become a Tyrant, whatever Right he had to the Empire, he should no longer be their Sovereign: The Original Contract was certainly broken when he murder'd his innocent Subjects at that barbarous Rate; and since they had no Protection from him, he should have no Service or Allegiance from them.

A little such Doctrine as this, doubtless would have done wonderful Service to the christian Cause in those Days, and would have recommended them powerfully to the Favour of their heathen Governors. But, alas! those poor thoughtless Creatures never contended for any thing but for that Faith which was once deliver'd to the Saints, and for the Crown of Martyrdom. They contended not to dethrone that arbitrary Tyrant who persecuted them. According to our *modern Notions*, indeed, it was good Policy in the *primitive Christians* not to show their Teeth when they could not bite, not to resist their Persecutors, when they were too weak to carry on a Rebellion: But as for their Consciences, they could not have been concern'd in their Subjection or Opposition to the higher Powers. Nor could there have been any Reason to fear God's Displeasure at all, unless it had been for their silliness in mistaking a Rebellion, if Resistance had been lawful, or if they might have defended themselves by Force against the Injustice of their Emperors.

As for the Supposition, That some Jews, who believ'd in Christ, had an Opinion, that it was not necessary or fitting for them to pay Tribute to their heathen Governors, there's no manner of Foundation for it in Scripture, or elsewhere. The Jews, who were so tumultuous in Rome, and were therefore, as *Suetonius* tells us, expell'd the City, were not such as believ'd in Christ, but such as were always endeavouring to raise the Mob upon their Country-Men, who did believe in him; so that tho' Christ might be a distant Occasion of those Disturbances, yet his Followers neither began nor promoted them. The Christians did not use to return Evil for Evil to such as troubl'd them, tho' the Ignorance of *Claudius* might, it's possible, put little difference between those who made Disturbances, and those who suffer'd by them. The Holy Ghost therefore, without any Reference to that groundless Surmise, commands all Christians to pay Tribute, Custom, Fear, Honour to their lawful Governors, without

without picking any Quarrels with their Management, either as to religious or to civil Affairs. *All Magistrates have their Power and Authority from God, mediately or immediately*: He has impow-er'd them to levy Tribute of their Subjects for the Support of their own Government, and the Subjects Security from Rebellions at home, and Invasions from abroad: This Care is what they attend to; they are God's Ministers, whether they discharge their Duties faithfully or not. It's God who raises them to their Dignities by his special Providence; he has made them *his Ordinance*, and their Unfaithfulness or Insufficiency cannot annul their Character after God has once bestow'd it upon them. God has Servants or Ministers, both Spiritual and Temporal, who are unfaithful and incapable of rightly discharging their Trust, yet they are his Ministers still; and that God, who alone *can bring Good out of Evil*, can raise his own Glory, and promote the Good of all Mankind effectually even by their Wickedness.

All Men in general are Sinners; all Christians and Sinners, and the worst of Tyants, are just Scourges for Sinners; *For the Iniquity of a Nation many, are the Princes thereof*, says Solomon. It was verifi'd in the Kingdom of the ten Tribes after they had fallen off from the House of David. It was verifi'd in the Commonwealth of Athens, when they were oppress'd by thirty Tyrants together; in Rome Heathen when Nero, Galla, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian trip'd up one another's Heels in so short a Time; and when, upon Valerian's being taken Prisoner by the Persians, thirty Competitors seiz'd the several parts of the Empire in the Time of Gallienus; and in *this unhappy Kingdom*, when the rebellious Juncto at Westminster seiz'd the Government, and it was chang'd ten times in little more than the Space of twelve Years. God permitted the Christian Church to be persecuted even in its Infancy, that his Disciples might know that their blessed Master invited them *not to any thing of Worldly Greatness*, but to *bear the Cross if they would obtain the Crown*. When their first Love grew cold, and the mighty Increase of their Numbers made them insolent and quarrelsome, the Devil was permitted to stir up his own Vassals to persecute them, by which Persecution the Devil design'd only to plague and torment them to Death; but God made use of those *ordel Fires* to cleanse and purify his Church, and to bring his Followers to the *primitive Standart*. The Purification of a polluted World, tends to the Good of all Mankind; and when true *practical Christianity* flourish'd, as it always did under the *severest Persecutions*, then it was that the Work of God was the most effectually carry'd on, whether the Instruments knew of and intended it or not.

Now, in such Cases as these, when God sets a *wicked* or a *foolish Prince* over a *wicked and ingrateful People*, or a *persecuting Govern-*

Government, over a corrupted Church, our modern Casuists presently teach the wicked People and the corrupt Church to oppose Force to Force, to depose or murder the Prosecutors or the Tyrant, and to disown their being the Ministers of God : They tell them, that *such Governors abuse their Trust*, tho' they were rais'd up for this very Thing, that they might be the Scourges of God upon such as he knew wanted them : That *they have forfeited their Dignities* : That it's so far from being a Sin to resist them in their tyrannical Proceedings, that it would be a Sin in them to betray their Liberties and Properties, by not standing up arm'd in their Defence : That it's only from *slavish Principles*, from *Turkish or French Schemes of Government*, that any talk otherwise ; for that *he who governs wickedly, cannot be the Minister of God, because he's a Praise to evil Works, and a Terror to them that do well, &c.* Tho' while they talk thus, while they censure the *suppos'd Tyrant* so severely, they quite forget the numerous and provoking Sins of the People.

We conclude then, that *it's not lawful for Subjects to resist their rightful Prince, tho' he be a Persecutor of the best of Men, &c. of the faithful Followers of Jesus Christ* ; and since even the *worst of lawful Magistrates are no real Terror to good Works*, but are ready to protect and encourage the Peaceable and Submissive ; such as are eminent for Industry and Ingenuity, for increasing the Wealth, and defending the Interests and Honour of their Prince and Country, without any Regard to their Religion : And since *the worst of Tyrants are always terrible to the greater Number of wicked Men*, by enacting excellent Laws, and putting them severely in Execution, as hoping, by such Appearances of Justice, to render themselves popular and safe : Since these Things are so, every good Christian ought to know, that *Tyrants, as well as others, are God's Ministers*, appointed by him to punish a wretched People who have forgotten him. The Import then of what the Holy Ghost, by the Apostle's Pen writes in these Verses, is this :

‘ If thou, O Christian, whoever thou art, provest seditious,
 ‘ or a Rebel against thy lawful Prince, or opposest thy self to
 ‘ him by Force, remember that God has entrusted him with
 ‘ the Sword, and thou may’st justly expect to feel that he knows
 ‘ how to use it ; and when he does use it, he revenges both
 ‘ God’s Quarrel and his own upon thee. Therefore I command
 ‘ thee, O Christian, to shew thy self faithful and submissive
 ‘ both to those Kings or sovereign Powers under whose Go-
 ‘ vernment Providence has settl’d thee, and to those who are
 ‘ appointed under ’em. Thy own Weakness, and thy Sovereign
 ‘ Power, may oblige thee to Submission for fear of being crush’d
 ‘ by the long Hands of his Justice ; but such Fear is only a car-
 ‘ nal Reason for it : But thy Conscience tells thee, thou oughtest

est to keep the Commandment of thy God and thy King, and if thou do so for Conscience sake, and for the Lord's sake, as well as to avoid Punishment, the Reasons of thy Submission are more glorious, and more becoming thy sacred Character. Thou art call'd upon to pay Tribute to thy Sovereign, as a Mark of that Subjection due, and as an Acknowledgment that, whatever Peace and Prosperity thy Country enjoys, tho' it be never so little, it's all owing, under God, to thy Sovereign's Laws and Management. Thy Business is not to question thy Prince's Religion, whether he be Christian or Heathen, whether he be a good or a bad Governor, but to consider whose *Authority he hath*; and to remember, that he who has given him the Sovereignty, will make him carry on his own Designs in the Government of the World, whether he knows it or not; and that he'll punish the *greatest Princes* for their Cruelty and Injustice, as certainly as he will the *meanest Subjects* for Resistance and Rebellion. Do thou therefore render Tribute to all thy Superiors to whom Tribute is due, Custom to whom Custom, Fear to whom Fear, Honour to whom Honour: While thou do'st so, the worst of Magistrates cannot be thy real Enemy; and should he act as if he were, thy Patience would conquer his Injustice, and thy ready Submission to him would make thee the more acceptable to thy God. Now, whether of these Paraphrases favours more of a *Christian Spirit*, or agrees the better to *primitive Practice*, I'll leave any sober, pious, and understanding Christian to judge.

From this whole Paraphrase we may be the better satisfy'd of the Truth of the Apostle's Doctrine, that *since all Powers are of God*, and consequently the Authority both of Sovereigns and their Substitutes is from him, mediately or immediately, therefore *whoever resists the Power, resists the Ordinance of God*; and indeed, as I said before, *resists God himself*, and *those who resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation*: But nothing certainly can seem stranger to an indifferent Person, nay, to a Heathen, if he be but of a sound Understanding, than to pretend to prove the *Lawfulness of resisting the higher Powers* from St. Paul's Words in this Chapter; and never could the *contrary Doctrine* be laid down in more express or comprehensive Terms; *Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers*. If every Soul, then none are accepted: No Reason for such a Doctrine can be laid down in plainer Words; *for there is no Power but of God, the Powers that be, are ordain'd of God*; or, those who are lawfully vested with Power, are so vested by him. And this is written to the *Christian Romans*, who, being under Persecution, and likely to continue so, might be apt to follow the Dictates of corrupt Nature, and it may be to join in *Plots and Insurrections against their Governors*, and so to verify all those Scandals rais'd upon them by their Enemies.

This

This *Subjection*, which St. Paul by the Holy Ghost enjoins, is such as requires that those who are *Subjects*, should not violently resist their lawful Governors, and what he adds, leaves not the least Loop-hole for an Evasion: *Whosoever therefore resists the Powers that be, resists the Ordinance of God; and they, whosoever they be, who resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation. Wherefore ye, all of ye, must needs be subject, not only for Wrath,* while you are too weak to defend your selves, *but for Conscience sake;* even then when you are strong enough in Appearance to controul all the higher Powers, if they turn Persecutors, *whatsoever.*

This general way of speaking, is not proper to this Text alone, but it's us'd elsewhere: And indeed all those Commands in Scripture which enjoin *Subjection to Magistrates*, seem design'd purposely, by the Holy Ghost, to prevent all Cavils and Exceptions; so, *Tit. 3. 1. Put them in Mind to be subject to Principalities and Powers;* i. e. Put all such Christians as are under thy Jurisdiction, as their Pastor, put them all in Mind to be subject to all lawful Princes and Potentates, without distinguishing whether, in their Opinion, they are good or bad. So again St. Peter, *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of Man, or to every Magistrate taken from among Men, for the Lord's sake, whether to the King, not as good, but as supream, or to Governors as those who are sent by him, for the Punishment of evil Doers, and for the Praise of them who do well.* For every Prince, measuring the *Well-doing* of his Subjects by their Obedience to his Laws, whether those Laws be just or unjust, and judging of their *Evil-doing* by their Disobedience and Opposition to his Laws, will certainly order his Substitutes to punish or to encourage them accordingly: And whether Princes be arbitrary, or act with the Consent of their Subjects, as in a Parliament, they may make wicked Laws, as well as such as are prudent and just; and they must be stricken with a Notion who fancy the *diffusive Body* of a Nation more likely to make or to suggest good and wholesome Laws, than either the *supream Magistrate or his Council.*

Again: We are told in the Old Testament of a King against whom there is no rising up.— Of a King, to whom none may say, *What do'st thou?* Of a King, whose Subjects, even when they are oppress'd by him, have no lawful Remedy, but crying unto God. We are told, that it is not fit to say to Kings, *Ye are wicked,* or to Princes, *Ye are ungodly.* We are told of that Power which attends the Word of a King, of the Terror of his Wrath, and of the Happiness of his Favour; how dangerous it is to curse the King, tho' but in Heart; how dangerous it is to meddle with those who are given to change; and our blessed Master in the Gospel has taught us, *To render to Cæsar the Things that are Cæsar's,* as well as to God the Things that are God's. But in these sacred Rules,

rules, there's not so much as an Intimation of any Difference between good and bad Magistrates, as to our Submission to them, or of an Allowance to resist, or to refuse to pay Tribute, or to be subject to the very worst of lawful Princes.

But we are now told, That *these* and *such* like general Commands in Scripture, as for Instance; *Swear not at all; Speak Evil of no Man; Pray without ceasing; Rejoice evermore; Give to every one that asketh, &c.* That these are all to be understood with some Restraint and Limitations, for fear of some suppos'd absurd Consequences; but we need no more but to understand any of these general Precepts rightly, and as explain'd by other Texts of Scripture, and we may take them all in their full Latitude safely enough. So we are to interpret that Rule, 1 Cor. 9. 6. *Give to him that asketh*, by that, *Let every one give according as he is disposed, not grudgingly, or of necessity*; and that, *He that will not work, neither shall he eat*, 2 Thes. 3. 10. *Rejoice evermore*, John 18. 22. by that of our Saviour to his Disciples; *We are now sorrowful, but I will see you again, and your Sorrow shall be turn'd into Joy, and your Joy no Man taketh from you*; and by that of the Apostle; *Rejoice in the Lord alway, and again I say, Rejoice: Pray without ceasing*, means only that we should not faint or be discourag'd in our Prayers, because we are not answer'd presently, but persist with Faith and a just and continu'd Confidence in God, that he will answer us in due time, *If we faint not*; *Speak Evil of no Man*, is a Duty as general and indispensable as the Letter of the Text can bear. A Witness, who swears against any Criminal only what he knows to be true, does not speak Evil of the Criminal, but Truth, which he's oblig'd to for his own sake, and that of others; whence our Church in her Catechism explains evil Speaking by Lying and Slandering. Resist not Evil, is not more express or absolute than, *They that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation*; or, *You must needs be subject*. But it's authentically explain'd by the Apostle, when he commands Christians, *Not to avenge themselves; Not to recompense Evil for Evil*; and by that of our Saviour; *I say unto you, Love your Enemies, Bless them who curse you, Do Good to them who hate you, and Pray for them who spitefully use you, and persecute you*: Mat. 5. 44. The proper Limitation of which, our Saviour gives when he bids his Disciples, *where they had no Swords, to buy them*, i. e. to repel private injuries where there could be no Appeal to publick Justice, as in case of being assaulted by High-way-Men, or by House-Breakers; with respect to which last Case, our Saviour tells us, that *If the good Man of the House had known at what Hour the Thief would have come, he would have watch'd, and not have suffer'd his House to have been broken thro'*: His Watching therefore is suppos'd to be to resist and hinder the Thief from breaking in, and

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and his Practice is recommended to our Imitation in a like Case.

As for that Command, *Swear not at all*; our Saviour by that means only, that the *Jews*, to whom he then spoke, as well as to his Disciples, should not swear at all in that manner they us'd to do, which he severely reflects on. Otherwise, that *Amen, Amen*, which our Saviour himself sometimes uses, was a Form of Swearing among the *Jews*; and it may be that *Yea, Yea*, which he allows, was an Oath too; so St. Paul swears in a very solemn manner; *Rom. i. 2. Gal. i. 20.* And we are told, without reproving the Custom, that, *They who Swear, Swear by the Greater, and an Oath to them is the end of all Strife*; and St. John brings in an Angel *lifting up his right Hand to Heaven, and Swearing by him who liveth for Ever and Ever*; not to mention the Direction we have in what manner we ought to swear, that we may swear lawfully; and such Christians as enter'd themselves in the *Roman Armies*, were wont to take the *Military Oath*, as well as others. And now, after what St. Peter and St. Paul have written thus in general Terms concerning Subjection to the lawful Magistrate, if I could find either of those holy Apostles, or any of the primitive Christians *forcibly resisting their lawful Governors* on any Occasion whatsoever, or a *Limitation of these Precepts in any other Passage* in the whole Book of God, I should very freely acknowledge, that what those Apostles have said, ought to be understood in a *restrain'd Sense*; but 'till then I must understand them in their full Latitude.

As for St. Paul's *threatning the Magistrates at Philippi*, I have shew'd the Impertinence of it formerly on this Occasion; the Apostle only warn'd them of the Danger they incur'd by scourging a *Roman Citizen*, not a *Roman Subject at large*, for the Subjects, both while it was a Common-wealth, and while it was a Monarchy, if they were not endenizen'd, were all *Slaves*, and treated by the sovereign Power as arbitrarily as the Subjects of *France*, of *Turky*, or of *Muscovy* now are. Now, to shew the *Magistrates at Philippi* their rash Error, that they might proceed no farther in it when other *Pick-thanks* might be ready to inform against them, was, I think, never call'd Threatning before; nor is an Appeal from an inferior to a superior Court any thing like forcible resisting either of their Jurisdictions.

As you would that Men should do unto you, even so do unto them, is our Master's Rule, and the truly royal Law, and that which render'd our holy Religion so justly venerable to *Alexander Severus*, the *Roman Emperor*, and many other wise Men. Were but this Rule follow'd, no Sovereign could ever knowingly or willingly tyrannize over his Subjects, no Subject could ever violently resist his lawful Sovereign. I, for my part, cannot find how any Christian in his Wits can dispense with that

that Rule in any Case whatsoever; but if he will dispense with it, *What does such a Christian, as a Christian, do more than others?* More than any Jew or Infidel in his Neighbourhood? What Men do under the Tyranny of any ungovernable Lust or Passion, out of the sudden impetuous Motions of Love or Fear, is one Thing, what they do upon a deliberate Consideration of Matters, is another. A Prince may ruin his most faithful Subject when hurry'd on by his Lust, as *Avid* did *Urijah*; but if he be a truly pious Man, he'll repent as *David* did, and confess, that in doing so by his Subject as he would not have been done by himself, he had sinn'd against God, and deserv'd the severest of his Judgments. A Subject under the sudden Convulsions of an unreasonable Fear or Jealousy, or under the Smart of some cruel Injury just receiv'd, may be ready to fly in the Face of his Sovereign, but so soon as he comes to himself, and his Thoughts begin to cool, if he be a true Christian, he'll be so far from justifying the Violence of his own Relentments, or encouraging others to the same, that he'll condemn himself heartily, and confess, that in behaving himself so to his Prince, his lawful Superior, as he would not his own Son or Servant should have done by him on a like or greater Provocation, he too has been guilty of an almost unpardonable Violation of this sacred Law.

But when I, in Obedience to all the Laws of God and Man in that Case provided, prosecute a *Thief*, or a *Murderer*, or a *Sodomite* to Death before the Magistrate, I do not at all trespass against that Royal Law; for if I could once banish corrupt Self-Love, and make it veil to the Dictates of Reason and Justice, and look upon my self, when guilty of such Sins as are deeply criminal, as I really am, I should be so far from complaining of Justice for taking my Life, that I should offer my self to publick Justice, rather than fly from it; and we are not without Instances of *Murderers* and other gross *Criminals*, who have not only put themselves into the Hands of Justice thro' Remorse of Conscience, but have solemnly declar'd, that they would not live if they might have their own free Choice, since their present Lives were due to Justice, but their Souls by a true Repentance, and a due Submission to Justice, might obtain Salvation. A Person come to such a Temper of Mind, might prosecute another to Death, and yet do no more than he'd be willing should be done to himself in the same Circumstances. So if my Son offer any Violence to me, and I punish him for it as he deserves, I inflict no more upon him, than I should have been willing to suffer my self, as my just due, had I been such a Rebel against my own Father.

Now, if we consider that *Princes*, as they are Men, are liable to Mistakes, that they may fall into vicious Habits,

may do many unjust Things, may seem to act altogether against the suppos'd Interest and Happiness of a People or Nation, may be set over them by God himself in an extraordinary manner, and with extraordinary Circumstances, only to be a *Scourge and Punishment to an ungodly Multitude*; were I in the Room of such a Prince, set up by God for that Purpose, encompass'd with all his Infirmities, and vested with his Sovereign Authority, would I think it just and reasonable that my Subjects, on Pretence of defending themselves against my ill Designs, should dethrone and ruin me? Or should I not be as *really a King* under all those Circumstances, as under any other? Or could any Man stretch forth his Hand against me the Lord's Anointed, and be guiltless? What David did in *Urijah's Case*, was one of the most *tyrannical* and *inhuman Actions* that ever any Prince in the World was guilty of; yet he look'd for his Punishment for it from *God only*, and not from his Subjects. When David number'd the People, he seem'd to have contriv'd their utter Destruction, and he really brought such Vengeance upon them, that, had it continu'd for whole *three Days* at the Rate it began, they might have been destroy'd indeed; but had the People oppos'd him by Force in either Case, he'd soon have convinc'd them that they were *Rebels*, and ought to have been treated as *Rebels* and that for his great Sins; he was justly obnoxious to God's Justice, but not to their *froward and ungodly Resentments*.

It's the *Curse* David bestows upon treacherous *Achitophel*, that Type of *Judas the Traytor*; *Set thou an ungodly Man to bear Rule over him*: And God himself sometimes, and sometimes his *Vicegerents* take that Course, as I intimated before: So God rais'd up *Pharaoh* of old; yet he permitted not the *Israelites* to resist the *barbarous Tyrant* by Force, or to defend themselves against him, tho' they were provok'd beyond Measure by the *Bitterness* of their unmerited *Slavery*, and by the *Murder* of all their *Male-Infants*, and were numerous enough to have asserted their own *Liberty*, and the *Laws of Hospitality*. So when *Solomon* had gone off from his first Zeal for the worshipping the God of *Israel*, and the *ten Tribes*, after his Decease, express'd their Dissatisfaction with the most glorious Times that ever any Nation in the World enjoy'd; to punish forgetful *Solomon* in his Successor, God rent away those *ten Tribes* from him; and to lash the rebellious *Murmurers* as they deserv'd, he put them into the Hands of *Jeroboam the Son of Nebat*, who carries that Brand to all Posterity, that he taught *Israel* to sin. And *Ammianus Marcellinus*, an Lib. 33. Officer in the Army of *Julian*, tells us, 'That when C. 2. 'the People of *Antioch* had highly affronted that 'Apostate, during his Residence among them, when he 'went

went from thence on his *Persian Expedition*, he left one *Alexander of Heliopolis* to be their Governor, a Man of a cruel and a savage Temper; not, as he said, because *Alexander* deserv'd such a Government, but because that covetous and abusive People deserv'd such a Governor. Yet even those ill-manner'd *Antiochians*, who presum'd to affront their Prince so impudently, were not so ill principl'd as to resist either *Julian* or his Deputy by Force of Arms. Nor did that Army which *Julian* led to the *Persian War*, though they were well apprised of his malicious Designs against them as *Christians*, either desert him in the Field, or betray him into the Hands of his Enemies, and yet they openly declar'd themselves to be *Christians* when they nominated *Jovian* to be their Emperor, after the Death of that perfidious Apostate.

Qu. Well, but after all, it may be ask'd, What then must we all submit to all the cruel Humours of a barbarous Tyrant? Must we quietly offer our *Liberties*, our *Properties*, nay, our *Throats* to the murdering Swords of such as he may commiserate to that Purpose? May a Sovereign Prince destroy and ruin a whole Nation at his own Pleasure, and must we offer no manner of Resistance? Must we be all mere Passive Stocks and Stones?

Ans. To this I answer, No: We may resist all such Violences, tho' carry'd on by never so powerful Hands: We may defend our selves against the most inveterate Tyrants, by Ways much more effectual than those of Guns and Swords, and all the Incumbrances of the Martial Field: A good Christian is never without defensive Arms against the Insults of his most formidable Oppressors: And they are such as these;

I. We may resist the Progress of the unlawful Designs of lawful Governors, without any Trespass upon *St. Paul's Prescriptions* in this Chapter, by regular Appeals from inferior Officers to those above them, and so to the Throne it self; and by Petitions, or peaceable and humble Representations of our Case to those in Authority. Thus our Instructor *St. Paul* himself did, when he had been certainly inform'd of the Conspiracy of the *Jewish Zealots* against his Life. *Festus*, the present Governor of *Judea*, had Power to have judg'd, and so to have condemn'd him, or to have set him free, provided the Prisoner enter'd no Appeal to any superior Judge, or to the Emperor himself. But when *Paul* finding that *Festus* was not unapproachable by large Bribes, or perpetual Importunities, had appeal'd to *Cesar*, *Festus* durst proceed no farther, but was oblig'd, at the Peril of his own Head, to guard him carefully from the Outrage of the *Jews*, and to send him to *Rome* with the first Opportunity. It was indeed, but an Appeal from one more tractable to a fiercer Savage; but God, by this rescu'd him from *Jewish*

Rage in the first Place, and then found Means to deliver him out of the Mouth of the Lyon, and gave him an Opportunity to preach the Gospel at Rome, and to add even some of Nero's Family to the Number of such as would be sav'd. To make such Resistance as this to the higher Powers, where it's done quietly and submissively, tho' it may sometimes be displeasing, yet it's no Breach of any divine Law; nor is it such Resistance as the Holy Ghost prohibits in this Chapter.

Inferior Officers and Governors are often wrought upon by their Friends and Relations, by Wheedles or Threatnings, or by some private Interests of their own, and they have their Eyes and Judgments sometimes dazzl'd with Gold, and sometimes they take Advantage of that Authority conferr'd upon them, to wreak their Malice upon those whom they have a Pique against. No Sovereign can justly give them any other Commission, than what's agreeable to Law: The Law of the Kingdom is the Declaration of the publick Will of the Sovereign, that which every Subject may and ought to know at

*Summum Jus summa
Injuria.*

his own Peril: But Laws may be stretch'd and strain'd beyond their true Meaning; and we are often convinc'd, that

Extremity of Law is Extremity of Injustice; and on the other Hand, that the least Relaxation of legal Rigors is an Inlet into Mischiefs never to be remedy'd. The lower inferior Officers are in their Station; the meaner commonly are their Spirits, and the more capable of foolish, overstrain'd, and illegal Practices. Men of higher Education have generally braver Souls, and look upon little and unworthy Actions as beneath them; but sometimes it happens, that Laws lawfully made, and made at first with no other Prospect than the Good of the Publick, and made at the Desire, and with the Consent of the People, signify'd by such as they chuse freely to represent them in national Assemblies; such Laws, upon some extraordinary Turn of Affairs, may grow very inconvenient and grievous. Now, in such a Case, inferior Officers, being oblig'd to go by Laws enacted by their Superiors, and unrepeal'd, may by Law commit Injustice, as well as they might do it in the former Cases against Law. So when upon finding the Books of Numa, and those which Tarquin had bought, suppos'd to contain the true Sybilline Oracles, the Roman Senate took Occasion to make severe Laws against all Innovations in Religion, for fear they should, as they certainly would, create Disturbance in the State; and when those Decrees of the Senate, as Laws of a very pious and weighty Importance, were confirm'd by the Emperors; and when the Emperors, whose Rescripts and verbal Commands were as obliging as any of their most ancient Laws, added

new Sanctions to the former, against such Innovations: When Matters stood thus, the subordinate Governors of the Provinces were oblig'd, by these Laws, to persecute the Christians, as Preachers of *new Doctrines*, and Setters forth of *new and strange Gods*, as the *Athenian Philosophers* said of St. Paul. It was upon this Account that the persecuted Christians were under a Necessity of *Appealing* from the *Rigor of the Laws* in the Hands of the Provincial Governors, to the *softer Interpretation* of them which lay wholly in the Sovereign's Breast: And Great Princes, tho' they be not Men of strict Vertue, yet being of *elevated Souls*, and above the little Interests and Considerations of the Multitude, their Appeals were often the more welcome, because the Acceptance of them render the *Princes* themselves *popular*; and it's usual for *wise Governors* to throw off all *disgustful Severities* upon their *Substitutes* and *Counsellors*, while they reserve the Glory of *mitigating such Severities*, as very gracious in the Eyes of the Multitude, entirely to themselves. By such Means Men of irregular Ambition are frequently made odious to that People whose Favour they would court, and those Princes whom they hop'd to have undermin'd by their popular Artifices, settle themselves in the good Opinion of the Populace upon their Ruins.

Petitions too, if not insolent nor tumultuous, are innocent, and sometimes agreeable and successful Ways of arresting the Injustice of our Superiors. None can see *much* with their own Eyes, or hear *much* with their own Ears, and Princes the least of any: Those about sovereign Princes are so frequently concern'd to hide the Truth from them, to conceal their own Mismanagements the better. Ill Men would have their Governors like themselves, and therefore they are wont to stop all the Avenues against such as would inform them of the true State of Things. *Petitions*, if prudently drawn up, and *humblly* offer'd to the sovereign Powers, sometimes set Matters in a true Light, and give them an Opportunity to vindicate their own Honours from any *Misprisions* which the People might unjustly take up against their *Sovereigns*, on Account of the *Misbehaviour of their Ministers*. Thus in the Case of the *primitive Christians*, we find they were generally represented to Kings and Emperors, as the most *dangerous Enemies* in the World to their Government. So the *Jews* tell *Pilate*, when they brought the *holy Jesus* before him; *We found this Fellow perverting the Nation, and forbidding to give Tribute to Cæsar, saying, that he himself is Christ a King*, Luke 23. 2. And doubtless if he had not been a Malefactor, they, good People as they were, would not have deliver'd him to *Pilate*. So again the Orator *Tertullus* informs *Felix* against St. Paul, Acts 22. 5, *We have*

have found this Man a pestilent Fellow, and a mover of Sedition among all the Jews throughout the World, and a Ring-leader of the Sect of the Nazarenes : Which could not but be a just Charge upon one of those who had turn'd the World upside down. If now the blessed Jesus himself, if his Apostles, who were under the immediate Conduct of the Holy Ghost, were thus accus'd, those who follow'd them could not reasonably expect better Measure.

To wipe away this Scandal, our Master gave to Cæsar the Things that were Cæsar's himself, and taught all his faithful Followers to do so too. St. Paul and St. Peter inculcated Submission to the higher Powers so much, that Christians by such Well-doing might put to silence the Ignorance of foolish Men. To wipe off these Calumnies, Justin Martyr, Quadratus, Athenagoras, Tatian, Tertullian, and others, presented their Apologies for the Christians to the Roman Emperors, they carefully vindicated themselves from the Imputation of Disloyalty, and prov'd as industriously, how guilty their Accusers were of the Crimes they laid to them, who were Enemies to no Man, much less to their Emperors ; and consequently we never find a Christian among any of those who took up Arms against their lawful Princes, unless we'll admit the Gnostics of the following Age into the Roll of Christians. Nor were these Apologies or Petitions, for they were both in one, always offer'd in vain, but seconded so far, with God's Blessing, as sometimes to open the Eyes, and mollify the Heart of those Princes to the Revocation of their Edicts for Persecution.

2. There's another Way in which Christians may put a stop to the Injustice and Cruelty of their Princes, without transgressing the Rules of their holy Profession ; and that is, where they cannot prevail by Appeals or Petitions for a Redress of those Severities they groan under, they may remove, if it be possible, into some other Place or Country, and so avoid the very Temptation of resisting those by Force whom God had set over them, for the carrying on of such Ends as his Wisdom had propos'd to it self. So our Saviour bids his Disciples, *If they persecute you in one City, then fly to another.* And he did so several times himself. It may be very difficult and inconvenient to do so, it's granted : But a Man had better break thro' a Difficulty, or suffer an Inconvenience, than commit a Sin. If I stay, I may be drawn in to resist my lawful Prince in a violent Way, to resist the Ordinance of God, to do Evil that Good may come of it, and so my Damnation may be just, and nothing but the utmost Bitterness of Repentance be able to prevent it : If I fly upon a just Reason, I put my self and Family under the immediate Protection of God, and he will never leave me, nor forsake me. Thus when Jeroboam had set up his Calves at Dan and Bethel, and many were scandaliz'd at that Idolatry now settl'd in the ten Tribes, and had reason to fear a Persecution if they refus'd

to submit to it, we are told, that *the Priests and Levites, who were thro' all Israel, resorted to Jerusalem to Jeroboam out of all their Coasts; the Levites left their Suburbs and their Possessions, and came to Judah and Jerusalem; for Jeroboam and his Sons had cast them off from executing the Priest's Office unto the Lord; and after them came out of all the Tribes of Israel such as set their Hearts to seek the Lord God of Israel to Jerusalem to sacrifice to the Lord God of their Fathers, and they strengthen'd the Kingdom of Judah.* Chron. 11. 13, 14, 16. This was the Course which in the Time of d'Alva's playing the Tyrant in the Netherlands, made many Protestants for their Religion, many Papists for their Liberty, come over into England, to the strengthening of this Nation by their Numbers, and the enriching of it by their useful Manufactures and Industry. And this has been the general Practice of the French Protestants, since they were so cruelly persecuted by their present barbarous Monarch, who have chosen rather to fly their dear native Country for their Religion, than to die with the Arms of Rebels in their Hands; and indeed their several Combinations with the discontented Princes of the Blood, and Attempts to settle their Religion by the Sword in former Times, have turn'd to so ill an Account, that it has made some of their best Divines, such as Camero, the Du Mou- lins, Father and Son, Daille, Bochart, Del-Angle, and others, to declare against all such defensive Arms as unlawful; and God has provided them and other poor Refugees a secure Sanctuary against that Tyrant's Rage in these and several other of the neighbouring Nations.

It's true, all cannot make use of this Remedy against unjust Oppression, their Incumbrances are so many; and where they cannot all get off, their Ties of Nature and Affection are so strong, that their yearning Bowels cannot leave their near and dear Relations. But even *they may appeal and petition, they may exercise Faith and Patience,* and that God, whose Cause they maintain, who knows the Integrity of their Hearts, and the real Helplessness of their Condition, will be a Sanctuary to 'em himself; *he'll make the Rage of Men turn to his Praise, and the Remainder of it will be restrain.* But if the Clouds rise yet thicker and thicker; if Matters appear almost desperate, yet,

3. The true Christian Casuists of old, in all such Cases of extreme Persecution and Tyranny, were wont, as they taught a private Christian, when in an afflicted State, to look impartially into his own Bosom, and see if he could not find out some Reason there why God should lay his Hand severely upon him, so to advise a Church or Nation, when all Things were to Appearance going to wreck among them, to consider to search and try their own Ways, to enquire whether they were not their own Sins, their own loud Crying and unpunish'd

nish'd Sins, which had turn'd away such good Things from 'em as just and pious Governors, and all their formerly abus'd Prosperity and Peace? Whether they had not, by their Coldness and Indifferency in Religion, by their Connivance and Encouragement of all Manner of Immoralities and Wickedness, by suffering Corruptions of Doctrine to pass uncancel'd, unobserv'd; whether they had not by such Means drawn down Vengeance upon their own Heads? And wherefore then should living Men complain, Men for the Punishment of their Sins? Those old true Christian Divines encourag'd Men to Self-defence, and that the best and the most victorious in the World, viz. To search and try their own Ways, and to turn unto the Lord their God; to lift up their Hearts with their Hands unto God in the Heavens; to put away the Evil of their Doings from before God; and to cleanse their Hands, and purify their Hearts: They taught Christians and others, that a repenting and reforming People never wanted a seasonable and powerful Deliverer; that God's People of old were always rescu'd from their Oppressors upon their sincere Repentance, and seeking to the God of their Fathers; that God spar'd even the Ninivites, tho' they knew him not, upon their forsaking their Sins; and, that the Swords of Tyrants and Persecutors were soon put up, when the Sins of Christians were once laid aside.

Again: Those sound ancient Casuists taught Subjects not to curse their God and their Kings, but to make Prayers, and Supplications, and Intercessions, and giving of Thanks for Kings particularly, and all that were in Authority, that by such Means they might attain to live quiet and peaceable Lives under them, in all Godliness and Honesty: They taught their Flocks to pray to that God in whose Hands the Hearts of all Princes are, that he would turn 'em to Piety and Justice. They us'd to spread their Cases before the Lord, and endeavour'd in the first Place to reconcile him to themselves by Repentance and Amendment of their Lives, and then they resign'd themselves with all Submission to the Determinations of his Wisdom. And did they take all this Care in vain? No; sometimes their mighty Prosecutors were brought over on the Sudden from sanguinary Bigotry, to a compassionate Temper and Gentleness. By these Means Peace and Quietness came to be restor'd at Home and Abroad; by these the Roman and other Kingdoms and Empires came to be the Kingdoms of the Lord Jesus Christ; by these sometimes the Hand of God was mov'd to cut off the irreconcilable Enemies of his Church, without the meddling of any Christians in the Matter; and of this Truth we the Inhabitants of this Nation have had the noblest Instance in the World in the sudden and miraculous Restoration of the Church of England and the Royal Family after the great Rebellion.

These

These are *certain Ways* of escaping the Hands of the fiercest Tyrants, and such as in which the Subjects run no Hazard. When they rise in Arms against their lawful Sovereigns, they only cast Lots for what was their own before; and if he whom they call a *Tyrant*, happens to get the better, as he most commonly does, there's an *End* of their admir'd *Liberty and Property*, and the Fetters of their Slavery are then riveted on so fast, that nothing but a miraculous divine Power can ever loose them. If the *Subjects* get the upper Hand at last, yet *Bloodshed and Murders* grow endless, and *Right, and Law, and Justice, and Religion* are all trampled under Foot, and nothing left of all they quarrell'd for, but dishonourable Wounds and Gasps never to be thoroughly cur'd again. But when *Subjects* make use of none but *spiritual Arms* against the *Tyranny* of their *lawful Governors*, there's no Wrong done to any Man; there are no Armies rais'd, no Blood shed, no Feuds or Animosities heighten'd. But as all is left to God, to God, in his own *due Time*, and by *proper Instruments*, brings about what is best for his People: God loves an Appeal to himself by Prayer, better than by a pitched Battel: And when such an Appeal is made to him with sincere Hearts, a *Manasseh* may become a *Convert*, an *Uzziah* a *Penitent*, a *Maximian* or *Galerius* a *Protector of Christianity*, and a *Popish Prince* favourably inclin'd to the Friends of the *Reformation*. A *Christian* then, by Way of *Self-defence*, may appeal to, and petition his Sovereign; he may humble himself under the Hand of God; he may cast off his Sins by Repentance, and pour out his Desires with strong Crys and Tears before his God, and needs not doubt of a good Deliverance. The Prophet *Jeremiah* taught the *Jews* even in the Land of their miserable Captivity, not to curse the Tyrant who had ruin'd them, but to seek the Peace of the City whither God had carry'd them to be carry'd away Captive, and to pray for it; for in the Peace of that City they themselves should have Peace. Yet *Nebuchadnezzar* had us'd the poor conquer'd *Jews* barbarously. *Babylon* was the capital City of the Tyrant, and the gawdy Trophy of their Desolations; and therefore, according to *modern casuistical Divinity*, it was the Duty of the *Jews* to have shaken off the Fetters of so grievous a Slavery, as soon as possible.

Upon the whole then, we find no sound Reason why the true Meaning of the holy Spirit of God in these Rules given to the *Christian Romans* in this Chapter, should be interpreted quite away; or why the Doctrine of resisting lawful *high Powers*, should be preach'd by any honest well-meaning Man from such a Scripture as, in the Judgment even of a sensible Heathen, would be suppos'd directly to forbid it: It's

true, those who make the People the Original of Power, i. e. those who make the *Subjects of Power and the Original of Power*, to be the same, may talk at this Rate. But Men of *sober Minds*, who are at the same Time good Christians and good Subjects, will always look upon their lawful Princes as God's *Representatives and Vicegerents*, and not their own: They'll therefore see the Faces of their Princes, as if they saw the Face of God; and their Dutifulness to their lawful Governors, will demonstrate to the observing World that true Honour they have to him, who is *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords*. A good Christian will believe, that the Happiness of his native Country may consist much in having their Sons grow up as young flourishing Plants, their Daughters beautiful as the polish'd Corners of the Temple, to have their Oxen strong to labour, and their Sheep bring forth thousands and ten thousands in their Streets, that there should be no breaking in, nor going out, nor any complaining in their Cities. But he'll be sure, that they'd be much more happy, if they had the Lord for their God. Nothing can be more unbecoming a Christian Priest, than, in a degenerate and wicked Age and Nation, where the Gyant's War against Heaven seems to be even literally renew'd by those monstrous and unparallel'd Vices predominant among us, when Men dare to resist all the Commands of God himself, and, because they have not chosen him their King, resolve that he shall never reign over them: When impious Wretches openly ridicule the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and turn the Grace of God into Wantonness, it's very unbecoming any Christian Priest in such a Place, and at such a Time, instead of preaching Repentance for Sin, and Faith in Jesus Christ, to tell the People, that their Glory and Happiness lies in resisting those whom they call Tyrants, or whom they are taught to call so, by Force of Arms, or in occasional Rebellion.

It's a certain Truth, that even wicked Princes, where they come to their Governments by Birth, as in Hereditary Kingdoms, or by Election, or by long settl'd Conquests, as in other Countries, carry on the great Design of God in governing the lower World as effectually as others; and therefore I conclude, that supposing it true, "That some Sovereign Princes
 "do seem to act contrary to the End of their Institution, and
 "invade the Rights of their Subjects in an arbitrary way,
 "and threaten the utter Ruin of that People over whom God
 "hath set them; yet it's neither possible for them to effect
 "any such Design, nor is it lawful for their Subjects, on
 "Pretext of securing the publick Happiness, and the Happiness of their own Posterity, to sin against God, or violently to resist such Governors: But it's the Duty and
 "Glory of such Subjects, when really oppress'd, humbly to

petition their Sovereigns, and to appeal to them, and to their Laws, for a Redress of their real Grievances; to repent and turn themselves from their own evil Ways, which have provok'd God to set evil Princes over them; to fly to God by Weeping, Fasting, and Praying, (which was all the Jews durst do when revengeful *Haman* had almost compass'd their Destruction) that God would remove or divert those Evils which such Governors may seem to threaten them with; and then, leaving their Cause with God, and casting their Care upon him, to suffer patiently at Home, 'till God shall see fit to deliver them, or to fly to some other Place or Country for Protection from the Fury of the Oppressor. *And where then will be the Fury of the Oppressor?* Civil Liberty may be good, it may be justly valu'd, it may be legally defended; but, as I alledg'd before, we *must not do Evil that Good may come of it.* This is the authentick Doctrine of our holy Mother the establish'd Church of England, as reform'd from all the Errors and Excrefcencies of Popery. This Doctrine is founded upon *unabus'd, unwrested Scripture*, confirm'd by our *Liturgy*, our *Homilies*, and the yet standing *Laws and Statutes of these Kingdoms*. But to assert, that

"Supposing it true, that Governors, in our Opinion, act contrary to the Ends of their Institutions, and invade the Rights of their Subjects, and seem to threaten the Ruin of that Kingdom or People over which God has set them, it is lawful and glorious for those Subjects to oppose and resist such Governors by Force and Arms. — As if God had never shown us any other way lawfully to secure the publick Peace and Happiness of a Nation, but such Resistance. I say, to assert this, is *sedition, unchristian, atheistical, and treasonable*, as I shall in short make appear.

1. This Assertion is *sedition*. It's a *malicious Artifice* to drive Men into *Parties and Factions*, who were otherwise quiet, and very well satisfy'd with that Government they might happen to live under. I remember I have heard a profess'd Papist heartily curse those mischievous Priests and Jesuits, who having spent all their Days in a Cell, far remov'd from the Knowledge of Men and Things, took upon themselves, in a *late Reign*, to be at the Head of a politic Party, and to be Privy Counsellors; by which Presumption they undid themselves, and that unhappy Monarch, who gave himself up too easily to their empty Speculations. What Divisions those *wretched Statesmen* made among us, and what Troubles they involv'd these Nations in, every Day renders us more and more sensible. And Things will always be at the same Pass, when Men of a sedentary Life, of few Years, and no Expe-

rience ; when Men of timorous and jealous Tempers, and who write only upon the Informations of others of like Passions and Inclinations with themselves ; when such Men broach new, or, at best, *unnecessary Notions of Government and Subjection*, quite contrary to those which have formerly been receiv'd in the same Church and Nation, as founded upon solid Reason, irrefragable Authority, and never-failing Experience ; when, from their private Cells, they scatter Poysons, create publick Feuds and Animosities among their Brethren and Fellow-Subjects ; when they throw Fire-brands, and make Sport for themselves, and others of as little Insight into publick Affairs, nay, and perhaps may draw in several to countenance their Notions, not because they seek for Truth, but because they would fain be fishing in troubl'd Waters ; when such Men set up for *Politicians*, Mischief, unless providentially prevented, must follow. But so long as the *truly re-form'd Church of England, as by Law establish'd*, can hold up her Head, as God grant she always may ! so long as Men can read the *Scriptures*, and receive them as the *holy Word of God*, and not the *accidental Dictates of weak and fallible Men* ; so long as true *British Christians* hold fast that sure Word, and join heartily with our *publick Liturgy, Articles, and Homilies*, all grounded upon *that sacred Word* ; so long as they can observe and trace the *Practice and Doctrine of the first and best Christians* in the most considerable Monuments, both of civil and ecclesiastical Antiquity ; so long there must and will be a *Body of faithful Christians in these Kingdoms, and in this Church*, who will believe and maintain, that any other *Method of Resistance against their lawful Governors*, though seeming to act to the utmost Prejudice of their Subjects, *than that mention'd before, is that Resistance of which the Holy Ghost declares, that those who are guilty of it, shall receive to themselves Damnation.*

We know that the *Unitarians, or Socinians of the English Edition*, that *Atheists, that Deists*, and the *Jesuited Partizans of the Church of Rome*, that such as are better acquainted with *Bradshaw's impudent Speech to the Martyr of this Day*, and *Cook's scandalous Charge against him*, and the *Defence of it*, which is to be still seen, or with *Marshall's, Baxter's, Owen's, Goodwin's, Calamy's political Divinity*, in the Time of the great Rebellion, with *Milton's Image-Breaker*, and his *Defence of the English Rebellion against Salmasius*, with *Har-rington's Oceana, Hobbs's Leviathan, and Lock's or Sidney's later Discourses about Government* ; that such as are better acquainted with *Writings of that Leaven*, than with

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with their Bibles, or their Prayer-Books: We know that such persons one and all hug *these Doctrines*, and look upon the Authority of *Kings and Queens, and sovereign States*, nay, upon the Authority of *Jesus Christ himself, the Carpenter's Son*, as they scornfully call him, but really the King and Head of his mystical Body, as *Things as silly and ridiculous, as the Anathema's of the Church*, and can profane the most honourable civil Assemblies, as well as the Pulpits or Altars, with the filthy Ordure of their Ribaldry, Obscenities, and Blasphemies. Honesty and good Meaning may sometimes be forc'd down by a raging Tide for a while; but such Principles are fit only for such Men.

We live happily, if we had but Sense enough to understand our own Happiness in these Nations, under the auspicious Government of the best of Queens, a Princess of a Heart entirely English, and thoroughly tinctur'd with the long-known Principles of the establish'd Church of England, and who has openly express'd her Approbation of that Doctrine, and desires not to be greater than she is, unless it be in the Hearts and Affections of her People. Now, suppose in our present State, that some look upon the late King as getting the British Crowns by Conquest, as the two Bishops of Sarum and St. Asaph were thought to have done formerly. Suppose some say he got the Crown in the Right of his Queen, and some say that he got it by the free Election of the three Estates in Convention assembl'd. Suppose again, that some think the late Revolution was grounded upon Desertion, some upon Abdication, some upon that Opinion, That it was lawful to resist a Prince designing to set up Popery and arbitrary Power, all Laws, Ordinances, Acts of Parliament, or Statutes to the contrary notwithstanding. Suppose farther yet, with Respect to our present gracious Sovereign, that some say she reigns by an hereditary Right, as those who have no other Pretender in petto, will be very apt to believe; and some that she has no other Right to the Crown, but what she derives from the late Act of Settlement, which the Authors of the Measures of Submission to the civil Magistrate, of the Observator, the Review, and other Hemerobian Pamphleteers seem to assert; and suppose a much greater Number than all these taken together, never trouble themselves about any of these Enquiries, and yet all of them love and honour their excellent Queen, as many of them as find Leisure to pray, pray to, and praise God heartily for her, live peaceably under her Government, pay Taxes honestly and cheerfully, contribute freely their Lives and Fortunes to pull down the exorbitant Power of the common Enemy. Supposing all this, why should any Man, who loves the Peace and Prosperity of his Prince and Country? Why should any one, who would have

have his Sovereign live for ever, who would really have the French Tyrant reduc'd, all false Pretenders to the British Throne shut out, the reform'd Religion not only keep its Head above Water, but retrieve its ancient Glory and Reputation? Why should any Man who pretends to these Things, strive to disturb the quiet Waters? Why would he throw a Bone of Contention among his Fellow-Subjects? Why should one who pretends to admire *her* most excellent Majesty's Person and Government, and the Revolution, as having made way for her happy Accession to the Throne, (*unless he would fain prepare the Nation for another?*) Why should any such Man try to fill Mens Heads with an impertinent Noise about we know not what Revolution-Principles? Why should he pretend to hold a Rod over the Head of his Sovereign, to let her know *she's* on her good Behaviour, that it's no sin to resist those Princes whom we judge to have a Design against what we call our Constitution? Or that those who have made *her* Queen, may make *her* nothing, and when they have done, lay up the Royal Authority again in the original Magazine of Power?

If it be possible to keep up and perpetuate Divisions and Heart-burnings among us in these Nations, this will do. These Notions are calculated to set the dearest and nearest Friends and Relations together by the Ears. Can any Man in his Wits imagine, that I, who take all lawful Governors to have their Prebeminence and Authority by divine Right, and that it is not lawful to resist them by Force or Violence, on any Pretence or Occasion whatsoever? Can any one imagine, that I cannot on these Principles, slavish they may call them if they please, be as sound a Christian, as faithful a Subject, as charitable a Neighbour, and go as far to serve my Country against either foreign or domestick Enemies, as any He whosoever, who supposes the People to be the Original of Power, and believes, that lawful Princes may be resisted and depos'd too by their own Subjects, when they think they encroach upon their Liberties and Properties, and design the enslaving of the Nation? For Subjects to resist their Princes in such a Manner, is actually to coerce both their Power and their Persons, which the Act of Parliament for keeping this Day declares to be unlawful, and that those wretched Miscreants, who, in the great Rebellion, presum'd to do so, were as far from being true Protestants, as they were from being good Subjects. The great Rebellion which ended in the infamous Murder of the best of Men and Princes, was rais'd upon this Doctrine of the Lawfulness of resisting the higher Powers: It was this Doctrine that fill'd the Pulpits at Westminster especially, and was always sounding in the Ears of the Lords and Commons there assembl'd; and a Monarch of incomparable

comparable Vertues, his Enemies themselves being Judges, was there blacken'd with the Character of *the worst of Tyrants*, that the Villany of *ungrateful Traytors* might be justify'd. This Doctrine divided the People from their lawful Sovereign, and made those who were afraid of Slavery, where no Fear was, become the most wretched, despicable, unpity'd Slaves in the World to their own equally rebellious Mercenaries. The same Doctrine will always tend to the same End; and all the *Limitations and Restrictions* with which some pretend to guard it, are only like too many *Proviso's in an Act of Parliament*, which instead of preventing Inconveniences, make the whole *useless and insignificant*.

2. This Doctrine of the *Lawfulness of forcibly resisting our lawful Governors*, is *Anti-Christian* in every Sense; both as it's opposite to the *Doctrine and Practice of the Primitive Christians*, and as it's one of the *capital Oracles of the infallible Anti-Christian Roman Chair*. As for the great Patrons of the *Papal Usurpation*, as they have fix'd the *Original of all civil Power in the People*, so by deducing *Papal Authority* immediately from *Heaven*, they have fairly made Way for both *Prince and People* to be *Subjects to the Bishop of Rome*, and that that Bishop might always have the *Multitude at their Beck*: They taught them the *general Doctrine of Resistance* first, and then how to apply it in particular when they thought fit to excommunicate or depose a Prince for Heresy, or refusing to submit to their imaginary *Infallibility*. All this, those who have look'd into *Bellarmino*, concerning the *Power of the Bishop of Rome*, or the *Translation of the Western Empire to Charles the Great*; or *Suarez against King James's Defence of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy*, must be acquainted with: And, indeed, the Court of *Rome* could never have pretended to a *Superiority over temporal Princes*, if they had not deriv'd the *Authority of Princes from the People first*, and then given the People a Right to unmake the Work of their own Hands.

I have said before, That the *Primitive Christians had no Apprehensions of the Lawfulness of resisting their lawful Superiors*. I know too, that the same Author, who has endeavour'd to pervert the Sense of the Holy Ghost, concerning the *Duty of Subjects to their Governors*, as deliver'd by *St. Peter and St. Paul*, has taken as good Pains to pervert some Sayings of the Fathers, of whom he seems to have little Knowledge, as honest *Zwicker* formerly, and a later *Socinian Writer*, the other Day has, to prove all the *Fathers*, who *In Irenico* liv'd before the great *Nicene Council*, to have been *Irenicorum. Anti-Trinitarians*. I have taken some Notice of those Passages before, but as we generally conclude the *eldest Church-Writers*, such as liv'd nearest the *Apostolical Age*, to be
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the best Witnesses of what was the *Apostolical Practice* as to *Church Government and Discipline*; so we cannot but look upon the *Practice of the Primitive Christians* as the best *Interpreter* of those *Principles* they had entertain'd about *Subjection to civil Authority*. But now, as the Jewish and Christian Religion were not essentially different from one another, but only as that of the *Jews* had Respect to the *Messias* to come, and that of *Christians* to the *Messias* already come; so *Christians*, with Regard to their Duties either to God or Man, had no greater Liberty given to them, than the *Jews* enjoy'd before. As for the Kingdom of the ten Tribes, as it was founded in Rebellion, so it was continu'd by Rebellions and Murders. Not one really good King in all their Catalogue; but as they were always jealous of their Subjects, lest they should return to their Duty to the House of *David*, so they were fain to court the Populace, and almost to divide the Sovereignty with them; which Conduct made them less fond of the more rigid Government of *David's Heirs*, who 'till *Zedekiah's* Reign, were absolute and arbitrary Monarchs, and held the Reigns of Government very strait, as Sir *Walter Raleigh* very well observes. The Story of the *Sanhedrin*, in the Reign of those Princes, is all a putid Rabbinical Fable. That Council never had any Being 'till after the Death of King *Alexander Jannæus*, and never had any such Power as *Schickard* rakes out of that Rabbinical Rubbish for them. Of the House of *David*, there were several pious and excellent Princes, beside *David* himself, such as *Solomon*, *Asa*, *Amaziah*, *Uzziah*, *Jotham*, *Hezekiah* and *Josiah*, but none of those ever veil'd to the People as their Creators. The House of *David* had several wicked and idolatrous Kings, such as *Abaziah*, *Joram*, *Abaz*, and *Manasses*, who endeavour'd to ruin his Kingdom, both with Respect to Religion and civil Justice by his abominable Idolatries, and extreme Cruelties; yet we never hear of any of their Subjects rebelling against them, or resisting them any farther than by not joining with them in their Wickedness; so much Difference there was between the Doctrine of those Mock-Priests brought up in *Jeroboam's Academies*, and the lawful Priests of God, of the Line of *Aaron*. And yet certainly there were some wise Men in *Judah*, who would not so stupidly have betray'd their Liberties, or suffer'd themselves to have been almost destroy'd, if they had had but so much as one INNUENDO in a private Corner of the Law, That it might be lawful in such extreme Cases to resist that Tyranny of their Princes by Force of Arms. But indeed the pious *Jews* waited patiently for such Help as Prayer and Repentance, and such other Quack-Remedies, as some have blasphemously call'd them, could procure. But with Respect to their oppressive King, they set down with the same Resolve as *David* did when he had the

Life

Life of Saul in his Power, *As the Lord liveth, the Lord shall smite him, or his Day shall come to die, or he shall descend into Battel and perish; but the Lord forbid it, that I should stretch forth my Hand against the Lord's Anointed.* I Sam. 26. 10, 11.

This for the Jews. Nor were the first Christians any more us'd or allow'd to resist their lawful Governors than the Jews had been. *Active Obedience* to their Governors when it could not be pay'd without transgressing some Command of God, was forbidden by that standing Maxim, *That they were to obey God rather than Man.* But what a Crew of blockish Slaves must those Christians have been, if in these Words of St. Paul, *They who resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation,* there had been any tacit License for active Resistance, and yet they had never found it out, but had always understood the Words literally, as if the Spirit had really meant what he said, and therefore had never lifted up their Hands against their Royal or Deputed Persecutors, but were led quietly as so many Sheep to the Slaughter; For to have suffer'd Martyrdom when they might have rescu'd themselves from their Persecutors, without sinning against God, had been a kind of Self-Murder, and neither honourable nor justifiable. We find the Inhabitants of whole Cities, Men, Women, and Children, offering themselves to Death for the Name of Christ, their Multitudes so great, as startled *Arrius, Antoninus, and Pliny the Younger in Asia*, so much as made the latter acquaint *Trajan* the Emperor of Rome, with the Matter, whose Rescript somewhat mitigated the Heat of the then raging Persecution. The Christians, even in St. Paul's Time were not injur'd only by private Persons, which is suggested with equal Falshood and Ridiculousness: But the Laws which I mention'd before against all religious Innovations, and the particular Orders of Nero, put the Provincial and City Governors upon persecuting the Christians as Innovators; and so they did in the more glorious Reigns of *Trajan, Adrian, and the two Antonines.* And yet, in all these dismal Days, we never find one Christian among the Enemies of these Emperors. Several wicked Emperors, several excellent Emperors, such as *Gordian the younger, Alexander Severus, Probus,* were barbarously assassinated; but we never hear of one single Christian ever found among the Assassins. It was not a Christian Priest, but *Apollonius Thyaneus, a Heathen Casuist*, who, tho' at a Distance, bade the Murderer strike Home, when they were dispatching *Domitian.* No; those ignorant Christians wanted

Cum grano salis.

some modern *Casuits* to satisfy their Consciences, that the Words of St. Peter or St. Paul were to be understood with a *Grain of Salt*, with some *Restrictions and Limitations*; that, for all those Words, they might lawfully resist such as went about to destroy them, by what Names or Titles soever they were dignify'd or distinguish'd; that *the Gospel was not a Doctrine of Slavery*, but that they might defend themselves by Force against the Rigors of the Imperial Laws, the Sub-Governors of the *Roman Empire*, nay, and the Emperor himself, if he were a Terror to good and pious Christians. They wanted some to give this new and pleasing Turn to Christianity: Whether we who have this new, *this other Gospel* preach'd to us, are a Whit the happier, Time will show. But,

3. This Doctrine of the *Lawfulness of resisting lawful Sovereign Powers, or those appointed by them, is a wide and open Inlet to Atheism and Irreligion*; and therefore it's so very dear to such as are that way inclin'd. I must confess I should be very jealous of the Wholsomeness of my Provision, tho' I had been at never so much Cost to get it, if I found it grateful to such viciated Palates. The *Lawfulness of Resistance* can never be defended but upon that Principle, that *the Original of all Power is from the People*. This is the darling Notion of that *Smeſſymum Book*, call'd, *The Rights of the Christian Church asserted*. This was the Notion of *Lock, Sidney, Milton*, and others who were never inclin'd to be Martyrs for the Religion of Christ Jesus; and it's the Ground of those noble *Explications of several Passages of Scripture*, offer'd to us by a modern *Casuis*t; all which render the Duty of Subjects to their Sovereigns, and the Authority of Sovereigns over their Subjects, so very precarious, as one would wonder how a Man who has any Sense of Religion, and a little Reason to back it, should ever be able to hear such Discourses with Patience. And may not that unhappy *Casuis*t, while he limits every Precept referring to that Matter, tho' it be express'd in never so general and comprehensive Terms by the Holy Ghost, be tax'd with *limiting the Holy one of Israel*, even in a literal Sense. What he pleads, is generally from the Reason of the Thing; i. e. indeed from his own weak Reason and wrong Apprehension of Matters. My Conceptions, my Judgment of Things is so and so; therefore the holy Spirit of God in Scripture, when he says one Thing, must mean another. Which is such a presumptuous way of enervating the Word of God, as can scarce be parallell'd among any Writers, but the *Socinians or Quakers*. When God punish'd *Nebuchadnezzar's Pride*, by taking away his Reason, and herding him among Brutes, the Design of God's dealing so with him, was, that the might learn, that

that the most High ruleth in the Kingdoms of Men, and giveth them to whom he will. And the Psalmist, who was a pretty good Casuist too, says of God only, *He pulleth down one, and setteth up another*: And on the same Ground our Saviour tells Pilate, that he could have had no Power over him, if it had not been given him from above. But was David, or Nebuchadnezzar, or Pilate, only to be acquainted with this Truth? Was it to be conceal'd from the govern'd Part of the World, and they still to be held in Hand, that they themselves were the only Make or Mar Kings, while their Governors were to take it for granted, that all their Power was from God? This indeed would have been a sure way to make Sovereigns and their Subjects always misunderstand one another, and it would have been as bad as a Cherubim with a flaming Sword to keep all Peace out of this lower World.

But these last-cited Passages too, must be understood with some proper Limitations; and God must not be God, unless he speak, as well as act according to the Caprices of ignorant and foolish Men. It's an easy Matter to bring the venerable Names of Mr. Hooker and Bishop Bilson upon the Stage, and to pretend to defend their Opinions, to tell us, that they allow resisting of our Governors in some Cases, and that Governors were first made by the People, and by Compact: But we never took those too excellent Men for infallible in all Particulars. Mr. Hooker took up his Notion from Aristotle and Cicero, and as theirs, manag'd it well enough; and both he and Bishop Bilson had an Eye to the Defection of the Netherlands from the King of Spain: But if Grotius his Account of those Transactions be true, had those two great Men liv'd to read him, they might have defended that People better than by those Schemes of Government which they then stumbld upon; and perhaps neither of their Arguments for Submission to lawful Governors and their Laws, tho' in themselves unanswerable, can stand upon that Foundation of Government, being first begun by the concurrent Councils of the People, rather than by the immediate Direction and Appointment of God himself. And Mr. Hooker's Talk of Ages, especially before Noah's Flood, in which there were no settld Governments, but Men liv'd like so many Savages, without the Controul of any Superiors, is every whit as ridiculous as a later Author's Dream of such unrefined Wilds, which none but Poets first thought of, but no Man living could ever yet find in all his Travels; and in this and many other Cases, not to be, and not to appear, is the same Thing.

God had no sooner made Man, but, according to his original Design, he gave him a full Commission to replenish the Earth,

Earth, and to subdue it, and to have Dominion over every Fish of the Sea, and over every Fowl of the Air, and over every living Thing that mov'd upon the Face of the Earth. That he might be such a Monarch as this Commission imply'd, *Adam the Man* was made first, and had this Commission given to himself alone; by Virtue of which, *his Wife and Children*, if they were Things moving upon the Earth, must of Necessity fall under his Government. How far the sad Ruins of his Fall might disorder him, we cannot certainly determine. But after that fatal Sentence pass'd upon him, though it soon appear'd that the inferior Creatures grew sensible of Human Weakness, yet we don't find but that *Adam* asserted his original Power as far as he could; and as he knew that God was the *supreme Monarch* and Governor of all Things, because he was their Father, and they all had their Originals from him, so he remembering his own original Commission, and knowing that God had never transferr'd that Power originally vested in him, on any other Creature, he could not but maintain his own Authority over his Children, so far as they were within his Reach, as they all had their Original from him, and he was their Father.

It was this Authority of *Adam*, both as he was his Father and his Sovereign, which made *Cain*, after he had murder'd his Brother, so much afraid that every one who met him, should kill him.--- His own guilty Conscience told him what he deserv'd, the Knowledge he had of that Authority which God had given to his Father, and the Reason he had to punish him, made him fear lest his Father should have appointed the first Person who should meet him to kill him, and so to avenge the Blood of his murder'd Brother upon him. God therefore set such a Mark upon *Cain*, that all might read in it how Divine Vengeance alway waited on him, and that all might see that he who appear'd so extremely miserable to every Eye, had no need of an Executioner. That *Cain* built a City afterward, proves that he settl'd a Government in it. Corrupt and disorder'd Nature could never have permitted such a Coalition of Families without the Security of some Government; corrupt Nature could never have found out any Government at all, but that God's Government of the World, and his Commission to *Adam*, taught him, and *Adam's* Management taught *Cain* and the rest of his Posterity, how to govern.

After the Flood, what Laws God design'd for Man, he gave personally to *Noah*, and *Noah*, from the Mouth of God, became the first Legislator and first Monarch of the renew'd World; *Nimrod's Kingdom* is mention'd particularly, but not as a new Thing, or such as had never been heard of before. And the perpetual Silence of all Authors, both sacred and profane,

phane, concerning any Nations, who either were without Government, or who had any other than Kingly Government, is no slight Argument that there were no more Societies without Governors, than there were Families without Fathers in the World. It was God, and not Man, who found out Government for the Safety of Mankind, who, of themselves, had justly deserv'd to be let loose to revenge the Quarrel of their Maker upon one another. So it's God, by whom Kings reign; the sovereign Powers are invested not with the Peoples, but with God's Authority; and this is what Scripture, what prophane History, what the visible Practice of all the yet known inhabited World hold forth to us. To deny this upon a Chimerical Fancy, miscall'd *The Reason of the Thing*, and to build the fatal Doctrine of resisting lawful Princes by Force and Arms, upon that fictitious Foundation, is really to fly in the Face of God himself, to diminish his Glory, and to deny his Power. And,

4. This Allowance of forcibly resisting those who are lawfully invested with Sovereign Power, is, by the fundamental Laws of these Kingdoms, an Allowance of a treasonable Nature. Christian Princes coming to read the Book of God, and to see what particular Care our Lord and his Apostles had taken to secure their Authority from the Insults of Rebels and Malecontents, had Reason to think themselves safe enough, if all their Subjects did but obey the Prescriptions of their Master. But whatever Governor has thought himself safe upon that Supposition, it seems has been miserably out in his Account, if after they have flatter'd themselves with an Opinion of their Power and Safety among their Subjects, because they are Christians, that very Religion from whence they are call'd Christians, allows their Subjects in some Cases, of which they themselves are to be Judges, to take up Arms against them. The very Design to do so yet, is made high Treason

by the Statute of Treasons, and that for perpetuating a solemn Fast to be kept on this Day. Anno 25.
Edw. iii.

For those who take up Arms against, or resist the King or the lawfully reigning Sovereign, are certainly the King's Enemies in the Sense of the Law. To assert then, that it's lawful to resist the lawful reigning Sovereign, is to abet, adhere to, and effectually to comfort the King's Enemies, if it be any Comfort to persuade them, that they may do so without Sin. To resist the Sovereign, as I observ'd before, is to coerce him; And the Act for observing this Fast, declares, That by the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, neither the Commons nor the Lords in Parliament assembl'd, nor the People collectively or representatively have had, or ought to have any coercive Power over the Persons of the Kings

1 Guli. &
Maria, c. 8.

Kings of this Realm. And though a later Act does direct, That no Man henceforth shall be requir'd or enjoin'd, nor any Person suffer any Forfeiture, Penalty, or Loss for not taking, subscribing, or making that Oath.— I A. B. do declare, that it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against the King, and that I do abhor that traiterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or those that are commission'd by him. — Yet that Act does not declare, that it is lawful to take Arms against the King lawfully reigning, on any Pretence whatsoever. There's a great deal of Difference between saying, That a Man may take Arms against his Prince if he thinks he has sufficient Reason so to do; and to say, That he shall be oblig'd under any Penalty to swear that he will not do so. And that our Laws allow the Subjects no such Liberty, the Act to secure several Persons from any vexatious Suits, for assisting the late Prince of Orange, is Intimation plain enough.

It's an easy Matter for a Man to pretend to limit the Doctrine of Resistance so as to render Princes who govern at any tolerable Rate, safe enough. But if the Person who does so limit it, were the universal Dictator of Mankind, all his Care in this Matter would be insignificant. Can any Man be so very silly as to think that the Body of the Subjects of these Nations understand, or trouble themselves about all these nice Restrictions contain'd in the Measures of Submission, or the Reflexions upon the Bishop of Exeter's Sermon? No; it's enough for them to hear that some of the Clergy of the Church of England have asserted both by preaching and writing— That it's lawful for Subjects to resist their Princes when they go about to destroy the national Constitution—. Tho' not one of ten thousand knows any Thing of what that Constitution is. Yet let but some great Male-content, let but some mercenary, ambitious, or temporising Preacher alarm the People with a Story of such a Design in Hand, the People will quickly be in a Flame, and never trouble themselves to enquire what Boundaries the Rector of St. Peter's-Poor has set to their rebellious Humour.

It was by this Art of exposing Princes to the Hatred of their Subjects, that Absalom stole away the Hearts of almost all Israel from his King and Father: And if David really took so little Care to do Justice, as the young Rebel intimates, the Kingdom must have been quickly ruin'd. By the same Method Jeroboam got an Interest in the ten Tribes; and if Solomon's Yoke was so very grievous as he represented it, what could have follow'd, but the total Destruction of the People? It was upon the Foot of this Doctrine, that the glorious Martyr of this Day was brought to the Block, and inhumanly murder'd by his

his own perjur'd Subjects. That long Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, was first forg'd with that villanous Design of rendering the best King that ever sat upon the *British* Throne, *odious and contemptible* to his Subjects, because in some Instances *unfortunate*. If any in those Days dar'd to promote Loyalty and Fidelity to his lawful Sovereign, he was presently branded as a Betrayer of the Liberties of his Country, while the *Lawfulness of resisting such Princes as he*, sound-ed loud from several Pulpits. He was represented as *destroying Religion*, and *promoting Popery*, when all *Europe* could not shew a more steady *Enemy* to the Errors of *Rome*, or a more humble, pious, resolute, or well instructed *Protestant*. He was describ'd to his Subjects as one of the most *barbarous and bloody Tyrants* in the World; and upon that blessed Principle of *the Peoples being the Original of Power*, he was impiously and impudently stigmatiz'd as a *Traytor to the Common-wealth*, Mr. *Calamy*, in his Abridgement of *Baxter's* Life, tells us, that they were generally *the sober and trading Part of the Nation*, who depending on the *Lawfulness of resisting Kings*, *boldly took up Arms against him*. *The Nobility, the Gentry, the learned and religious Part of the Clergy*, (but they are dubb'd, *the loose and prophane Party*) were of another Mind, and with their Lives and Fortunes stood so firmly by *their Prince and Laws*, that had not the Rebels sold *the Church of England* with her *Doctrine and Government* to the *Scottish Kirk*, as the *Kirk* afterwards sold *their King* to the *Rebels*, and had they not turn'd the Scale against the Royal Party, by that *base and hypocritical Artifice*, the principal Managers of that horrid Rebellion, were just ready to *banish themselves* from their almost ruin'd Country for ever.

But could all this have happen'd, had but the *Doctrine of our Text* been seriously and every where press'd upon the wavering Multitude? *The best of Kings* was a *Tyrant* in the *Mouths*, and as they had been instructed, in the *Hearts* of the Multitude. In the *Hearts and Mouths* of all sincere and understanding *Protestants*, he had his true Character, *The best of Princes, the best of Christians, and the best of Men*. The resisting Party fought against him, and shot at him to preserve him. The *Christian Loyal Party* fought for him to preserve the *Church*, their *Sovereign*, the *Laws*, and *themselves*. *Cesar* was call'd a *Tyrant* by *Brutus* and *Cassius*; it was their Interest to call him so, and the People at first believ'd them; but when *Anthony* expos'd his *bloody Robe* to publick View, the People forgot the Name they had given him, pity'd the assassinated Great Man, and curs'd and prosecuted the Murderers. *Charles the Ist.* of *blest Memory*, was call'd a *Tyrant* too, by his *black-mouth'd Adversaries*, and the *deluded Multitude* ran away with the *Notion*. When we meet, as on this Day, to humble our selves before

before God, for the horrid Sin of our Fathers on this Day committed, we see *the bloody Robe of that murder'd Saint* in the Service for the Day, and the Statute for keeping it, by the Command of Authority, spread before us; and shall we be less sensible than Heathens? Shall not we curse the Memory of those cruel Murderers? Abhor the Rebellion, and all the *curst Principles* leading to it? All true Christians will and must do so: *Atheists, Deists, Papists, and all the Enemies of the establish'd Church of England*, take other Measures; they'll resist God himself, *they'll break the Bands laid upon them by Christ in sunder, and cast away his Cords from them*: They'll banish all Religion out of the World, on Pretence of introducing *that of Nature*; and will, without any Religion at all, go as far as ever fanatick Rage did, *to bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in Links of Iron*. Such Patriots made our Sovereign's Grandfather a glorious Martyr; sav'd us from his *pretended Tyranny and arbitrary Power*, and enslav'd us to *their own*, resisted *their pious, lawful Prince*, for fear he should destroy these Kingdoms, and brought a sudden, dreadful, and unpitty'd Destruction upon the whole British Empire by *their own Wickednesses*. Their Crimes brought forth all those Difficulties we have ever since groan'd under to this Day. O! may the *precious Blood of Jesus Christ*, atone at last for that *Royal innocent Blood* shed this Day by the Hands of *wicked and unreasonable Men*, that we, our Queen, our State, our Church, may for ever be free from the Malice of all such as turn Fairh into Faction, and Religion into Rebellion, for Jesus Christ's Sake. Amen, Amen.

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